

UN  
'83

Dateline '83

OPC

# The United Nations



## Survival or Surrender?

Overseas Press Club of America





**T**his year, TIME The Weekly Newsmagazine begins its 61st year of publication. Since TIME was founded in 1923, the world has moved from the T-model Ford to the space shuttle *Columbia*; from the crystal radio and silent movie to live telecasts from the surface of the moon. People, nations and institutions have been born and others have disappeared. TIME has recorded it all—and today continues to record for nearly 30 million weekly readers around the world the changes that affect their lives. In fact, more people in more countries now get their news from TIME than from any other single source.



# President's message

As the first woman president of the OPC, I feel I must express my gratitude to the membership for their very active support of me and of the continuing traditions of the OPC which I have always considered of the utmost importance and which I am working very hard to protect.

This has been a difficult year for newsmen and women in various parts of the world. Many have been ousted from their posts, some have been imprisoned, and a few have even lost their lives. Through our Freedom of the Press Committee, the OPC has vigorously protested each case and has given its support to all groups working for press freedom against government control of the news media in various countries throughout the world.

The presentation of awards at this dinner, continues a tradition which we have established over a period of 43 years and again demonstrates the appreciation the OPC has for the outstanding work done by reporters in all areas of communications. In addition, the very effective issue of DATELINE again points out the professional and important attention to world affairs to which our members have dedicated themselves.

It is significant that DATELINE this year is focusing on the United Nations and its role in world affairs, since the United Nations has proclaimed 1983 as World Communications Year. This, according to



the International Telecommunications Union, will provide the opportunity for all countries to analyze their policies on the development of communications.

Newsmen and women have suffered this year from the disappear-

ance of many newspapers and have been affected by the trend of take-overs of major newspapers by other papers in many parts of the country. Our program committee, which has been very active this year, has organized discussions concerning all of these problems, and has given to homecoming journalists and to newspaper editors and publishers the opportunity to present their views and experiences to our members. The committee has been responsible for the reestablishment of the OPC as a forum for any area of discussion pertaining to our profession, along the lines which we had successfully followed in previous years.

We have been able this year to attract many new members who are active journalists, and I am looking forward in the very near future to a complete revitalization of our membership. The OPC has always had the most distinguished journalists on its roster, and I am very eager to appeal to new and younger journalists to become part of what we all believe to be a very viable and significant organization. It is, I believe, very necessary for all people actively working in the field of communications to work together to assure that there is freedom of information and freedom of the press, and it is to these goals that the OPC will continue to be dedicated. As Samuel Johnson said some 200 years ago: "Great work is performed not only by strength, but by perseverance."

Anita Diamant



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# DateLine '83

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# CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

## Chapter I

### PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

#### Article 1

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace....



—New York Times photo

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (left), UN Secretary General, whose report warned of global catastrophe.

## Global Catastrophe!

On September 7, 1982, the United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, in his first annual report, said of the international organization:

"The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those who feel themselves strong enough to do so....

"I believe that we are at present embarked on an exceedingly dangerous course... such a trend must be reversed before once again we bring upon ourselves a global catastrophe....

"Something must be done, and urgently to strengthen our international institutions and to adopt new and imaginative approaches to the prevention and resolution of conflicts....

"It seems to me that our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function. It was the lack of an effective system of collective security through the League of Nations that, among other factors, led to the Second World War....

"Time after time we have seen the Organization set aside or rebuffed, for this reason or for that, in situations in which it should, and could, have played an important and constructive role. I think this tendency is dangerous for the world community and dangerous for the future. As one who has to play a highly public role in the Organization, I cannot disguise my deep anxiety at present trends, for I am absolutely convinced that the United Nations is indispensable in a world fraught with tension and peril. Institutions such as this are not built in a day. They require constant constructive work and fidelity to the principles on which they are based."



# The United Nations --- Survival or Surrender?

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# UN: Rule of reason or shout?

by Charles E. Adelsen  
Foreign Correspondent

ISTANBUL.—The United Nations, in its very first embodiment, was just four powers. The United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China, enlisted in the fight to wipe out facism, that retrogression of the human animal to its Neanderthal state, the political theory whose most memorable works will always be Buchenwald, Belsen and Bataan. What united the wartime Big Four, was in fact a crusade. What made unity possible was that despite their obvious differences, the Anglo-Saxons, the Soviets and the Chinese all shared a profound and cherished concept of nationhood, founded, however disparately, on the bedrock of ancient cultures. A part of that culture

included a knowledge of the arts of mediation and cooperation.

Today, four decades after Dumbarton Oaks, what characterizes the United Nations is not a crusade but a free-for-all. Looking forward, the problems of the world organization will be increasingly, and dispiritingly and exhaustingly, the effort to retain an atmosphere of adult deliberation and settlement, where in the halls of the international parliament, the injunction to come and reason together, is more and more overwhelmed by the new found right to shout.

The idealistic internationalism still only symbolically embodied by the United Nations, will only function and function best of all as a deterrent of war, when tribalism, gives way to the universal understanding, that membership in the

world body entails responsibilities, moral as well as political, quite as much as it bestows privilege and prestige.

What threatens the United Nations, and ultimately the peace of the world, is not the willful wickedness of the Super Powers at all. The fact that neither has hurled the Bomb, or threatened to hurl it, is sufficient cause for faith that mind, not missiles, will prevail in their dialogues.

What endangers the great parliament in Manhattan, our collective heritage from the Agora of Athens and the Senate of Republican Rome, is an encroaching tribalism in rhetoric and public manners, a primitiveness of vision and of method that erodes the U.N.'s actual dignity and forbids its future greatness.

## Turn down heat; wake up frog

by Susan Anthony  
Senior Correspondent  
Australian Consolidated Press

There's an old story scientists sometimes tell about how you can kill a frog. You put it in cool water, and heat the water slowly until it boils. And the frog dies. Amazingly, the frog will not try to escape until it's too late; the change in temperatures has been so gradual that the frog's survival instincts have been tricked.

That's the way I see all of us now; Like that frog. The temperature is rising to boiling point, yet still we ignore the actions necessary for our own survival. We surrender to the warm comforts of the present, without heeding the warning signals all around.

Frankly, I'm terrified of global catastrophe. Surprisingly enough, so are many of the people I interview.

Sometimes they mention their

fears with a kind of existential shrug, as if it's inevitable. They say the reason they're doing whatever they do, is that they want to make the most of life while the planet still exists. Sometimes they are deeply concerned, and say they are doing what they're doing to persuade people that life is worth fighting for.

As an Australian correspondent in New York, I get a schizophrenic sense of it all. Australians, being so far away, tend to feel that they will not be affected by a global nuclear war. But here in the US, the sense of fear is very real. Often it brings a sense of hopelessness. It begs the question of how one should respond as a journalist.

Javier Perez de Cuellar talks about the drift towards global catastrophe, and no one takes much notice. But then, no one takes much notice of the UN anymore. Like many modern institutions, it has yielded what leadership it



—New York Times photo

might have offered by bowing so often to temporary expedients. In this it is certainly not alone.

But what, or whom, do people take notice of? They still take notice of the media, and of the personalities the media offers as newsworthy. So maybe when Paul Newman and Charlton Heston slug it



out on TV, debating the problems of the nuclear age, we should encourage their conversation, rather than sneer at it.

With the information glut our new technologies have brought, we have paid a price. It's a bit like the water heating up. There's just too much to deal with, and we're comfortable now. No wonder kids are just as confused as we are.

But when it comes to the ques-

tion of "survival or surrender," there is no question. There can be no surrender. This is a natural instinct. However, the instinct must be supported by information. Without that, we may end up surrendering without even knowing that's what we've done. Just like that frog. At least as journalists we can try to tell the frog to wake up to what's happening. And try to turn down the heat.

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## UN is part of the problem

by Gordon Crovitz  
Editorial Page Editor  
Wall Street Journal/Europe

The UN Secretary General refers in his 1982 report to a drift toward "global catastrophe" and says his organization can't do much about it. He may be right about the drift. But he's wrong about the impotency of the UN. His organization is part of the problem.

The perception that the UN is no answer to the woes of the world may be the first step to making it a safer place to live. Article 1 of the UN Charter talks of the heady goal

of "collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace." No one can seriously object that the UN is a failure because it hasn't accomplished this miracle. But the UN has done far worse than that: There are reasons to believe that the UN has made the world—certain parts in particular—much more unpleasant than they would otherwise be.

The UN invites a gun-toting Yasser Arafat to speak and in a tribute to George Orwell equates Zionism with racism. UNESCO votes to cut off funding to Israel and UN funds are discovered to

have helped train PLO terrorists in Lebanon. The UN comes close to testing the mettle of the U.S. by nearly voting to boot Israel out, but the Third World-Soviet blocs balk at George Schultz's threat that the U.S. would stop playing sugar daddy if Israel went.

The General Assembly decides that the Russian invasion of Afghanistan is not a good thing, but doesn't get around to referring to the Soviets by name in the complaint. Doctors in Laos, Afghanistan and Cambodia find traces of yellow rain liberally sprayed on civilians by Soviet proxies but the UN team refuses to make field trips to the areas. Even when it comes up with strong circumstantial evidence, the UN refuses to acknowledge the clear implications about Soviet humanity and respect for arms control agreements.

The problem is not just that the UN has failed at the lofty goals it set itself, or even that it has unwittingly contributed in these ways to de-stabilizing the world. What may be worse is that by claiming to provide a veneer of respectability and civilized behavior to the world, it may further delay the resumption of will in the West that is the best hope for the kind of peace the UN Charter envisioned: one with "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms."

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## UN a theater in need of "class acts."

by O. C. Doelling  
U.N. Correspondent  
Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS—Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has found himself in the position of a new theater manager trying to attract class acts back to a once prestigious but now lackluster showcase.

Not only has this glass palace had too many flops, it finds itself being snubbed or allotted only a marginal role when crises erupt—as in the case of Lebanon.

"The problem with the United

Nations is that either it's not used or mis-used by Member Countries," the Peruvian U.N. chief recently complained.

Tongue-in-cheek, an American official here suggested to a reporter that the only solution to the world body's malaise would be to have a Security Council composed of "like-minded, Western democracies." His glum assessment was that, given political realities, "there's not really much that can be done" to make the unwieldy organization a more effective instrument for maintaining peace.

Since its founding in 1954, the

United Nations has grown from a 51-member Western-dominated organization into a 157-nation body in which the Third World makes up the overwhelming majority.

In the General Assembly, the vote of the United States, which pays a quarter of the U.N.'s \$750 million annual budget, is given the same weight as that of a tiny nation paying only a small fraction of the costs.

In the 15-nation Security Council, the veto allots negative power to the United States and the four other permanent members—The





**ABCNEWS**



Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. The Russians and Americans are linked there in the desire to prevent Third World countries from expanding the council's size and eliminating the veto.

The reason countries, large and small, increasingly resort to bilateral or regional means of resolving conflicts, the American official said, is that they conclude that the Security Council will do nothing constructive or propose measures unacceptable to them.

From the standpoint of the practitioners of power politics, U.N. involvement in a major dispute leaves too much room for inflammatory rhetoric and for meddling

supreme peacekeeping body, "all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so."

He proposed that the council clean up its act. Toward that end, he suggested, it might be useful for the 15 member states to meet at a foreign ministers' level.

The first couple of closed-door council meetings on the secretary-general's report have not been encouraging, according to one of his aides. The council found itself beset by the same East-West differences that frequently paralyze it

the realization that these lightly armed forces operate under severe limitations and are in no position—as was shown in Lebanon and earlier on Cypress—to stop a major invasion.

The U.N. also can be what Perez de Cuellar terms "a very good device for saving face"—as it was to a certain extent during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and as it almost was during last year's Falklands conflict.

"Many countries should take advantage of the United Nations in the sense that it is...much easier for a government to make concessions to the United Nations than to make concessions to one



—AP photo



—UPI photo

**Bangladesh President Rahman, Pakistani President Zia and PLO chairman Arafat seek cease-fire in Iran-Iraq war. Baghdad poster makes U.S. power behind anti-Iraq alliance of Iran, Syria and Israel.**

by countries and blocs not directly involved in the conflict. At one point, U.S. ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick termed the United Nations a "very dismal show" in which conflicts are exacerbated instead of resolved.

Concerned that the 15-nation security council too often deteriorates into an ineffective talk-shop, Perez de Cuellar, after a year in office, decided it was time to "shake the house" from the top.

The thrust of his highly critical first annual report was that, far from fulfilling the world body's original aim of saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war," the Security Council, the

from acting in a crisis situation.

Meanwhile, it would be advisable for the world to view the United Nations more realistically, recognizing that it is not the superpeace-making body envisioned in the victory euphoria of 1945. Its present shortcomings and divisions reflect those of its diverse member states.

However, it can be useful as a neutral meeting ground, as when more than a hundred foreign ministers and heads of state and government gather here at the start of each General Assembly session.

It can help diffuse tensions by sending peacekeeping troops to separate adversaries, albeit with

another or to a big power," the secretary-general suggests.

What is too often lacking, the secretary-general notes is "the political will."

Undersecretary-General Brian Urquhart, veteran chief of U.N. peacekeeping operations, echoes that when human survival is threatened by a nuclear war between the super powers, "this is the one place to which everybody can come without loss of face and get out of a fatal confrontation... They had better be aware that it is there and to be used for that purpose. And if that was the only thing the organization ever did it would still be worth it."



# Best bet: deterrence by superpowers

by Joseph Fromm  
Assistant Editor

U.S. News & World Report

Since nuclear weapons can not be "disinvented," there is no escape from the frightful realities of the nuclear age. The nuclear genie can not be forced back into the bottle.

Neither unilateral disarmament nor massive rearmament offers a way out of our predicament. We have no choice but to master the complexities and perils of a world in which war between the superpowers involves the possible destruction of organized society in the United States and the Soviet Union.

What is required is a policy that deters not only nuclear attack but any armed conflict between the superpowers. For even a local Soviet-American conventional war may escalate uncontrollably into an atomic holocaust.

A strategy of deterrence, imperfect as it may be, offers the best hope for averting the ultimate disaster. There is no feasible policy that can provide an absolute guarantee against nuclear catastrophe. But a convincing case can be made that the superpowers have avoided armed conflict for 35 years due to the success of deterrence.

Since 1948, there have been numerous confrontations—over Berlin, the Middle East, Russia's satellite empire and Cuba—which in the pre-nuclear age almost cer-

tainly would have led to war. All have been resolved without a clash of arms between the United States and the Soviet Union. Neither country has been prepared to risk of military strength that might bring nuclear weapons into play.

Why then the current crisis of confidence in the United States over nuclear strategy? Part of the answer lies in the radical change in the global balance of power, with this country's loss of the overwhelming—and comforting—nuclear superiority it enjoyed for nearly a quarter of a century. Another part of the answer is to be found in the early behavior of the Reagan administration—the talk about the "fightability" of nuclear wars and the apparent disdain for arms control negotiations. The administration's stance fueled a nationwide movement that undermined the consensus supporting the nation's strategy of nuclear deterrence.

The supreme challenge for the administration now is to rebuild that consensus. To this end, President Reagan and Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger already have modified their rhetoric, no longer dwelling on nuclear war-fighting but rather stressing deterrence of nuclear war and the quest for agreements to curb the arms race.

A good deal more will be needed. The controversies over defense

spending and the MX missile will have to be handled with greater sensitivity. Also it will be necessary to consider ways to allay widespread concern about the dangers of nuclear war by accident or miscalculation.

One possibility is a strategy of "no-early-use" of nuclear weapons in Europe. This policy would require an increase in conventional defense against the Soviet threat by exploiting more vigorously precision guided weapons and other advanced technologies.

Another possibility would be the elimination of many of the 6,000 theater nuclear weapons in Western Europe which are difficult to control in a war crisis and which include hundreds that are obsolescent or otherwise unreliable. These would be replaced by long-range missiles that could be more effectively controlled but still would leave no doubt in the minds of Soviet military planners that an allout attack against Western Europe could not succeed without prohibitive risks.

Search as we may, there are no certain answers to the horrendous problems we face in the age of nuclear weaponry—no magic formula for eradicating the danger of nuclear war. The most we can hope to discover in the foreseeable future are more effective ways to deter any nation from embarking on the road to disaster.

## Third World and Soviet Hurt UN

by Professor Marshall I. Goldman  
Associate Director  
Harvard University  
Russian Research Center

For those who concentrate on American-Soviet relations, these are not the cheeriest of times. Having been disappointed by the meager, if not negative, fruits of the detente era, leaders in both countries for some time almost seem

resigned to if not desirous of a return to the Cold War. Admittedly, the enthusiasm for the Cold War seems greater in Washington than it did in Moscow. In addition, Yuri Andropov seems anxious as a new leader to take advantage of the change in Soviet leadership to see if he can set off on a new course. Nonetheless, leaders in both countries are much more distrustful of one another than they used to be,

and each seems to be spending unreasonable sums on beating the other to some strategic disproportions. In doing so, each side seeks to avoid being bullied by the other, and each hopes the other will ultimately be forced to yield to domestic pressures to call off the race.

Given the weapons that make up this race, there is enormous danger of an accident. Even assuming that the humans involved are careful and well-meaning, a conflagration could be set off by mechanical or computational error. We used to think that science would make life better for mankind. Now we have advanced so far



# Symbols of independent journalism

*Anna Maria* **Islander**  
FLORIDA

**AVON PARK SUN**  
FLORIDA

**The Banner-Independent.**  
BOONEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI

**CLAIBORNE**  **PROGRESS**  
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**THE DAILY**  
**Comet**  
THIBODAUX, LOUISIANA

**The Daily Corinthian**  
CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI

**Daily**  **News**  
MIDDLESBORO, KENTUCKY

**DAILY WORLD**  
OPELOUSAS, LOUISIANA

**THE DISPATCH**  
LEXINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

**Gainesville Sun**  
FLORIDA

**The Golden Gate Eagle**  
NAPLES, FLORIDA

**The Harlan Daily Enterprise**  
HARLAN, KENTUCKY

**HOUMA DAILY COURIER**  
LOUISIANA

**Lake City Reporter**  
FLORIDA

**The Ledger**  
LAKELAND, FLORIDA

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FLORIDA

**Lenoir News-Topic**  
LENOIR, NORTH CAROLINA

  
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**The Messenger**  
MADISONVILLE, KENTUCKY

**News-Leader**  
FERNANDINA BEACH, FLORIDA

**The New York Times**  
NEW YORK

**OCALA**  
**STAR-BANNER**  
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**Sarasota Herald-Tribune**  
SARASOTA, FLORIDA

**The Sebring News**  
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**STATE GAZETTE**  
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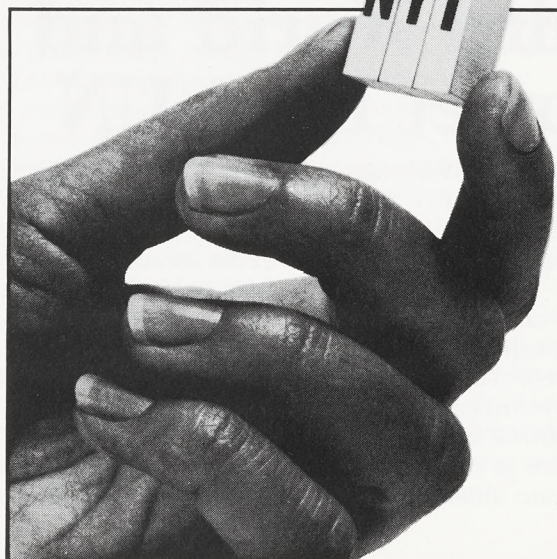
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**YORK COUNTY COAST STAR**  
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that science can destroy it by a simple malfunction.

The growing complexity of the weapons race and the proliferation of weapons to countries all over the world makes it all the more necessary to develop a mechanism to promote arms control. Because it has been taken over by the Third World and the Soviet Union, the United Nations has been discredited, and seems unable to serve as a respected mediator for this process.

The only hope is not a very promising one, and that is that somehow popular opinion in both superpowers will ultimately force the leaders of their respective countries to reexamine the dangers and costs that each country is creating. Even this is not a likely scenario given the close control of public opinion in the Soviet Union. Those few individuals who have



—New York Times photo

**No Nuke peace march in front of U.N. in June of 1982. Mario Cuomo holds torch of peace.**

spoken out about the arms race outside of the auspices of the official Soviet peace organizations are quickly repressed for fear that their movement might develop an unauthorized momentum of its own. Almost as bad, the peace movement in the United States is criticized for being manipulated from Moscow. Yet it is probably the peace movement in both countries, as unequal as those movements may be, that will stimulate us to seek an eventual resolution, if there is one, of the arms race.

Such a naive hope can hardly warrant much enthusiasm. Yet because we can so easily destroy one another, we may just continue to muddle through. Who after all would have believed that the two superpowers would live in peace for 37 years. It is not much to be proud of, but it is better than the alternative.

## No “real solutions” at UN

by Matthew Gordon  
Headed press service  
at UN for 15 years

The fate of the United Nations organization is not necessarily the fate of the earth. Its current membership of 157 States is politically involved institutionally in limited and repetitive issues. Many of the great issues of our times are outside of its organizational framework.

The persistent items inside the UN itself center around Israel and the Palestinians, with the sustained emphasis on “the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people”; South Africa and Namibia; and largely futile discussions of disarmament; so-called North-South economic dialogue with the articulated aim of redistribution of economic means to developing countries.

The majority bloc alignments pursue these matters from hardened pre-set attitudes. Members of these blocs may be in sharp antagonism to each other but they enthusiastically join or even try to outdo each other in commonality

of pursuit on these items. In this they are accompanied by others such as the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R.

This aggressive activity extends into many of the specialized agencies and has directly influenced the work of the Secretariat in tasks assigned by the General Assembly. Posts in the Secretariat are to a strong degree claimed and allocated by nationality, not only in the expanded upper ranks but pervasively.

From time to time I re-visit the United Nations and when I put the question to the older hands, who knew a different time, as to the status of the international civil service the response is orally characterized as “corroded,” “destroyed,” “finished.” The current President of the Federation of International Civil Servants has stated that “political meddling in matters of appointment and promotion is a growing menace in some agencies.”

The restricted scope of the UN's activity is exemplified in the eighty-eight meetings of the Security Council in 1982. Forty-nine were taken up with “the Middle

East and related issues”; thirteen with the “situation in and around the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas).” Other meetings dealt with the problems of Southern Africa and a complaint by Nicaragua against the United States.

The superpower relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union with the overhanging alarm of nuclear confrontation is fundamentally outside the UN organization although impacting on it. So essentially is the Iran-Iraq conflict; the antagonism between fundamentalist Iran and Saudi Arabia and the problems and impact of OPEC; the trauma of Central America, etc.

In the UN's loosely related family, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have an important current role in dealing with the faltering economies of various nations. The High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Children's Fund have received recognition of distinction. But the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty are illusory as constraints on nu-



clear proliferation. The Board of Governors of the IAEA contains countries which are active in nuclear potential.

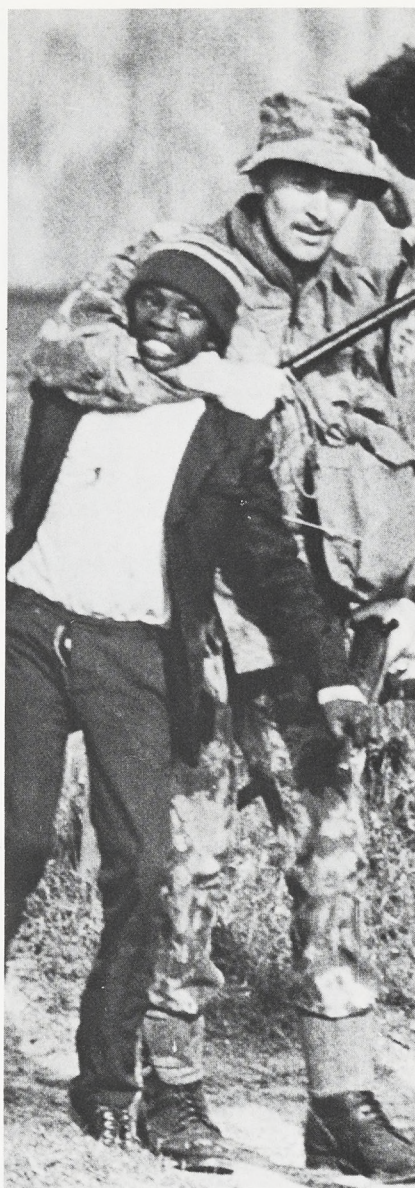
India exploded a "peaceful" nuclear device. Is Pakistan on its way to the bomb? The IAEA is not able to verify.

From the heady early days when media coverage was sustained and often very intense as in the famous or notorious "Heads of State" Assembly in 1961 coverage of the UN has diminished. Except for the opening speeches at the General Assembly when presidents, premiers and foreign ministers attend, and some special occasions press interest and attendance is not large.

Even the direct interest to media issue of the "new international information order" at UNESCO has not aroused strong media attention, except parochially.

The report, signed by Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar asks for a rallying to the standards of the Charter. Perez says he wants to develop a practical way in which the UN can be used as an "essential institution in a stormy and uncertain world."

Given the current state of the UN and widespread perception in powerful places of its use or misuse the obstacles to this realization are formidable. There is validity for belief that it cannot provide real solutions to the world's basic problems. The vast, intricate and obviously dangerous problems of the careening world are being determined, rationally or irrationally, elsewhere.



—AP/BB/STR/Argus

**South African cop explains law to black.**

that the Soviet Union does not recognize anyone's right to military superiority. And it will see to it that it does not happen....

From what some say it would appear that U.S. interests are being endangered almost everywhere in the world. This is an absurd thesis....

Could Israel commit aggression and perpetrate genocide against the Palestinians but for its so-called "strategic consensus" with the United States? As far as one can judge, in Israel they are now rubbing their hands gleefully. But this is what is called a Pyrrhic victory. The aggression was bound to turn, and has in fact turned into a serious political and moral defeat for Israel...The root cause of the Lebanese tragedy lies in Camp David...

Dangerous scheming is still going on around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The foes of the Afghan people, including those who flaunt their commitment to democracy, are trying to hinder the building of a new and truly democratic life in that country...Only one thing is required, that is to stop the armed intervention from outside against Afghanistan and not to interfere in the internal affairs of that sovereign non-aligned state.

The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have chosen their own road of social development. In their march along that road they are repelling those forces, which are seeking to prevent them from building a new life. The USSR resolutely sides with those states. It is rendering and will continue to render them necessary assistance and support....

One case in point is the South Atlantic. Hopefully, the peoples have drawn appropriate conclusions from the recent events in that region. The Soviet Union has publicly stated on a number of occasions its position that a just settlement of the problem that has arisen there can be achieved through negotiations within the UN framework and on the basis of UN decisions. It continues to be our position today.

Another case in point is southern Africa where the South African racist regime with the connivance

## U.S. is villain of U.N.

excerpted from U.N. speech  
by Andrei A. Gromyko  
Soviet Foreign Minister

Virtually everyone agrees that world developments have been evolving in an alarming way. People are asking themselves whether the insane arms race can be halted and the slipping towards the abyss prevented. What should be done to counter the policies of those who are playing out various

scenarios of nuclear war as if it were some kind of a gambling game rather than a matter that affects the destinies of mankind?

Those are legitimate questions. The Soviet Union is adamantly convinced that peace, which is the greatest universal value, can and must be preserved.

We insist that all states assume an obligation to renounce any use or threat of force in their relations....

It should, of course, be clear



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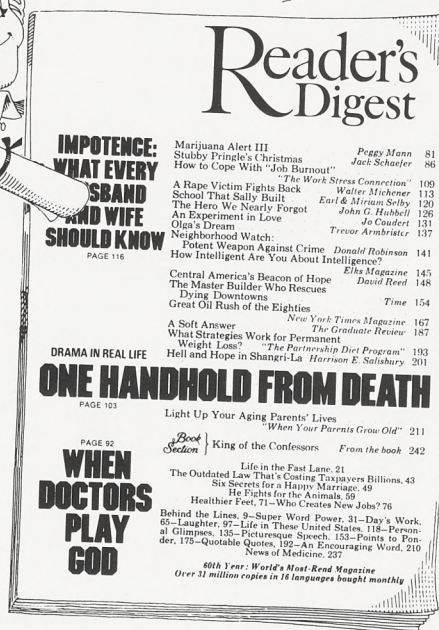
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of Western powers is actually waging an undeclared war against Angola and some other states of the region.

Still another case in point is the region of Central America and the Caribbean, where a campaign of pressure and threats is going on unabated against Cuba and Nicaragua whose only fault is that they want to live according to their own standards.

Mankind has no other reasonable option but to reduce gradually,

though consistently, step by step, and ultimately eliminate the nuclear threat...

The states of the world, with very few exceptions, demand a ban on all nuclear-weapon test explosions in all environments and for all times. Their will was reflected in a series of decisions adopted at the United Nations...

The Soviet Union has been consistently advocating the exclusion of chemical weapons from the arsenals of the states...

There is an increasing danger that the arms race will acquire a qualitatively new dimension unless the necessary measures are urgently taken. Washington is now planning a military thrust into outer space.

It is our conviction that the arms race must not be permitted to spread into the boundless expanses of outer space. The United Nations can and must play its part in this respect...

We are convinced that from the viewpoint of a long-term policy of

principle the deterioration of relations between the USSR and the USA is not in the interests of the United States itself. The American people is hardly different from other peoples as far as the desire to live in peace is concerned...

The Soviet Union has rebuffed and will continue to rebuff the policy based on the cult of force. Those who come out for preventing a nuclear disaster and for strengthening peace can always count on its support and cooperation.



—Gamma-Liaison/Alain Mingaro



—Nancy Palmer/Joel Barry

**Evidence of Soviet quagmire in Afghanistan. Afghan rebels on captured Russian tank. I.D. card of slain Russian soldier. Afghan guerrillas prepare for raid on Russian unit.**

## UN in shadow of superpowers

by Jim Hoagland  
Assistant Managing Editor  
for Foreign News  
The Washington Post

The resumption of the Soviet-American nuclear arms race and the lingering severe global economic recession form the most difficult and most dangerous problems confronting the world in 1983. Failure to make progress on each of them this year will bring us perilously closer to the "new

international anarchy" that Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar warned of in his annual report on the United Nations.

The key nations involved have consciously kept these two problems out of the reach of the United Nations and other international organizations, preferring unilateral national actions to risking dramatic new searches for collective security and prosperity. They have done so in part, Mr. Perez de Cuellar acknowledged with candor, be-

cause of the international organizations' own failures. But it is also clear the protagonists are often intent on pursuing their own advantage over others in economic and military fields, and are willing to gamble on the international community's survival in that pursuit.

The concepts of strict reciprocity and "fair trade, not free trade," are eclipsing the notion of comparative advantage that has underpinned two generations of general economic agreements and world prosperity. American reluctance to be drawn into a "New International Economic Order" guided by a United Nations that can too easily be manipulated against American interests is understand-



able. But the Reagan administration's willful failure to explore international commodity and energy pricing agreements like those recommended by the Brandt Commission, and its repudiation of the Law of the Sea treaty, help accelerate the slide toward world economic disaster.

The prism through which the arms race will be viewed most dramatically this year will be the scheduled deployment of Pershing

II nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The two superpowers have begun the Geneva negotiations by implicitly rejecting a true "rough parity" that would contain comparative advantages for each, and have been instead insisting in their initial discussions on a particularly deadly form of strict reciprocity, warhead for warhead. In contrast to the economic crisis, the balance of terror created by the match between the SS-20 and the Pershing

II can probably only be resolved by a conceptual breakthrough by Moscow and Washington, not broader international agreements.

But such an agreement should be bolstered by a bold United Nations effort to establish sufficient credibility with each superpower to enable the international community to play a role in implementation of future arms control agreements.

## Give UN infant chance to grow

by David Horowitz  
U.N. Correspondent  
World-Union Press

The UN appears as a sort of an 'international reformatory' where malcontents and intransigents are taught to behave and many of them change for the better. Some have a long way to go before they realize the true meaning of the Charter.

The late Israel Foreign Minister Yigal Allon while terming the UN "an arena of empty rhetoric," nevertheless held out some hope for the future of this 'parliament of man,' noting that it was difficult "to conceive a world without it." He then called for "a cure of the maladies which afflict it."

That there is need of a world body such as the UN formulated on the noble Charter principles goes without saying—especially in this uncertain atomic age in which the threat of the hydrogen bomb hangs heavily over mankind.

With all its shortcomings—and they are multiple—one must bear in mind that this world organization, born out of the Holocaust of World War II, is in its infancy. What is 37 years when viewed in the long bloody history of conflicts among the nations? We have here, in effect, a 'baby still in its diapers.'

Prior to the advent of the UN, each nation went its own way. There was no common understanding among them on the basic

needs of humanity—on matters of human rights versus exploitation, on health, children, food, technology, women's rights, labor, etc. Today, at least, a beginning has been made. Moreover, smaller oppressed people everywhere, who had hitherto been held as inferior 'natives' under the rigorous rule of



—New York Times photo

colonial powers—the Middle East, Africa, Asia, etc.—have gained self-determination and won independence.

Before the establishment of the UN, national leaders throughout the world, in the main, isolated themselves within their narrow

spheres of influence and had little direct contact with the leaders and peoples of other countries. Opportunities for face-to-face 'confrontations' were rare. Today, it matters not what direction the 'confrontation' takes. At least, they meet; they talk—even if against one another, yet they talk and they see that their so-called adversaries are humans like themselves and not some grotesque creatures with horns on their heads.

Distance had made the West unfamiliar with the East and vice versa. The one looked upon the other with suspicion and fear. The cold war posed a threat to humanity. The Middle East was a fiery cauldron, a powderkeg. The pushbutton for the explosion has now at least been temporarily defused.

Arabs and Israelis have come closer than at any time since Israel became a sovereign State. To most of the Arab leaders, the Israelis are now Israelis and not just 'Zionists' and this is a change from the days following the Partition vote. The "Reform School" is showing some results. Now there is a move toward accommodation and things look a bit brighter.

In simpler words, heads of state, foreign ministers and Ambassadors, arriving here at the UN green with preconceived ideas, suspicious and with a feeling of great mistrust—after a year or two of mingling with others—have learned a lesson, and that is that people are basically the same no matter from what part of the world they come. There remain a few exceptions—but the trend is clear.

To sum up: The UN 'baby' must be given a chance to grow into a healthy body.

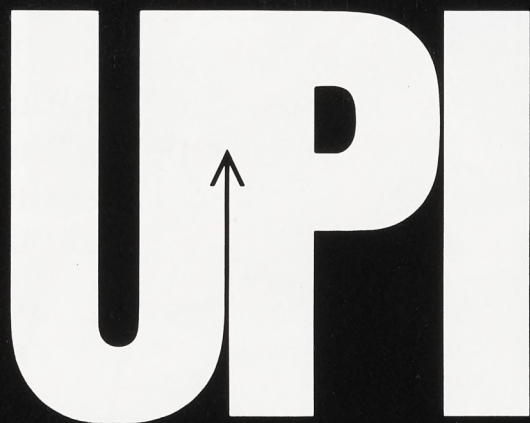


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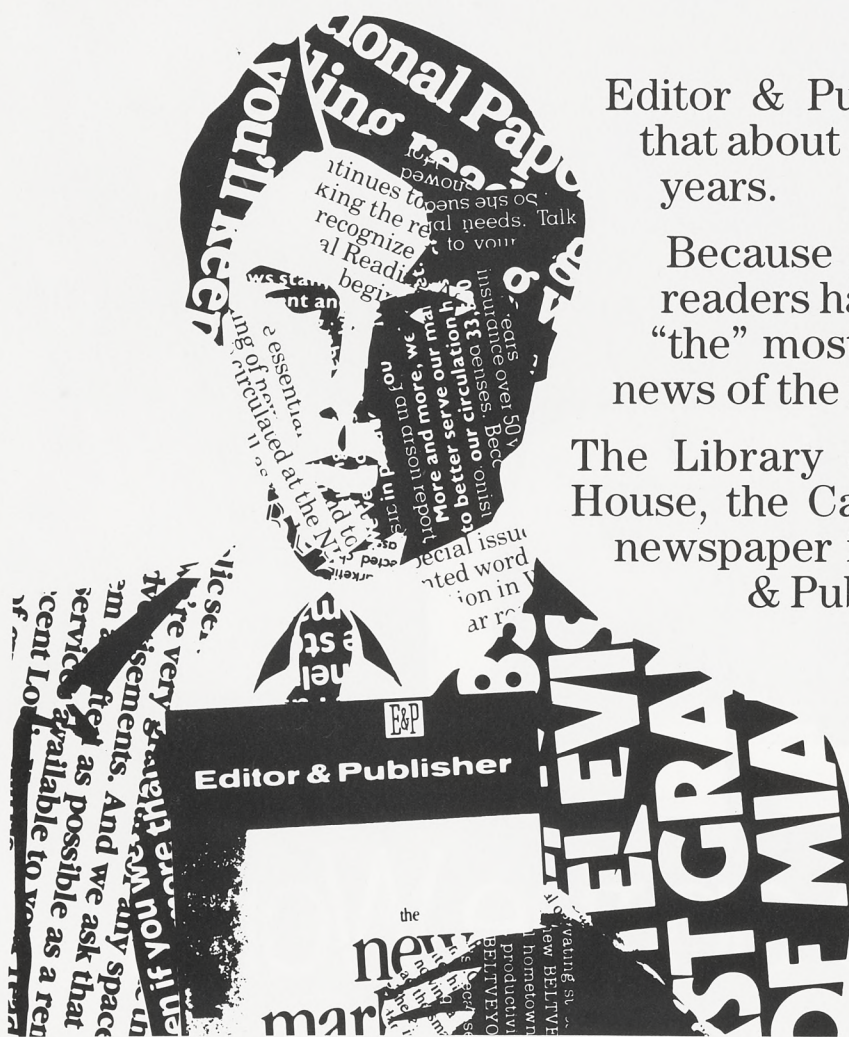
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# UN must be strong in shaky world

Excerpted from UN speech  
by Huang Hua  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
People's Republic of China

In the 33 years of the People's Republic, we have shown by deeds that China never attaches herself to any big power, or group of powers, nor yields to pressure from any big power. We Chinese people cherish our own independence and sovereign rights which we won only after protracted struggles....

The Chinese Government is willing to develop normal relations with any country as long as it truly respects China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, abides by the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect, and demonstrates by actual deeds rather than hollow words that it is not hostile to China and does not threaten China's security. Our modernization program is based on the principle of independence and self-reliance....

The quest for hegemony by the superpowers and the resultant global rivalry between them are the main source of the unrest and turmoil in the world. In their contention for spheres of influence and world supremacy, the superpowers have accelerated the expansion of their armaments and stepped up their strategic deployment. They have openly or covertly subjected other countries to their aggression, intervention or control by direct or indirect use or threat of force. While the focus of their global strategies remains in Europe, the developments in recent years indicate that the main sphere of contention between the superpowers is in the third world....

World peace and security can be maintained only if the rights to independence and existence of nations are firmly safeguarded....

Any "political solution" that accepts the status quo created by Viet Nam's aggression at the expense of Kampuchea's indepen-

dence and sovereignty would be contrary to the United Nation's Charter and the norms of international relations and, therefore, are inadmissible....

Soviet armed aggression against Afghanistan constitutes a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a grave threat to peace in Asia and the world....

The situation in Lebanon has aroused serious worldwide concern during the last few months. How the Lebanese situation and the Palestinian question are treated involves respect for a state's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and recognition of a nation's rights to existence and self-determination....

The United States cannot shirk its responsibility for this since it has always shielded and abetted the Israeli aggressors. China joins all other countries in voicing strong condemnation of the acts

of aggression and the inhuman atrocities committed by the Israeli authorities. We firmly support the Palestinian, Lebanese and other Arab peoples in their struggle against Israeli aggression and expansion....

In our view, to achieve peace in the Middle East, Israel must evacuate the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem; the Palestinian people must regain their national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and the right to establish their own state; and the rights to independence and existence of all countries in the Middle East should be respected....

In southern Africa, with the backing and connivance of a superpower, the South African authorities have intensified their racist policies. They have continued their illegal occupation of Namibia and made repeated armed provocations against and military incursions into neighbouring countries, thereby posing a direct threat to the security and stability of the region....

We maintain that according to



—Steve McCurry

Cambodian refugees from Vietnamese invasion in flight to Thailand.



the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, Namibia should immediately achieve genuine national independence on the basis of territorial integrity and national unity; South Africa's apartheid system should be completely abolished; and the international community should apply effective comprehensive sanctions against the South African authorities....

Faced with increasing troubles and turmoils in the world scene, one is entitled to expect that the United Nations will uphold justice and play a greater role in maintain-

ing world peace and international security and in promoting the growth of world economy. However, events over a period of time indicate that the role of the United Nations has been eroding. This is chiefly because certain countries have abused their veto power, bypassed the United Nations on a number of issues or refused to implement its resolutions. We appreciate and support the efforts of the Secretary-General and also hope that certain permanent members of the Security Council will show a more cooperative approach.

## Small states can strengthen UN

by M. L. Birabhongse Kasemsri  
Permanent Representative  
of Thailand  
to the United Nations

The United Nations Organization embodies some of the highest hopes and aspirations of humanity. But the intractability of crises in international affairs has diminished confidence in its capacity to maintain and manage a peaceful world order. The purposes and principles so nobly enshrined in the United Nations Charter are widely perceived to be the minimum tenets for a world community which had undergone the ordeals of two global conflagrations, in order for it to survive annihilation from a third. And yet the Charter is perceived routinely to be violated with impunity, often on a pretext of national security.

As the Secretary-General noted in his 1982 Report on the work of the Organization, the central issue facing the United Nations at present is its capacity to keep peace and to serve as a forum for negotiations. He noted the "conflicts between national aims and Charter goals," and the "tendency to resort to confrontation, violence and even war in pursuit of what are perceived as vital interests."

Whilst the United Nations system with its many specialized agencies and programmes has

been able over the past thirty-seven years to achieve remarkable success in the social, cultural and developmental fields, it frequently finds itself on the sidelines in situations of grave threat to international peace and security. The Security Council, which is the principal organ entrusted with the primary duty of maintaining international peace and security, is often divided along lines of national interests. As a result, in terms of global law and order, a situation of semi-anarchy prevails.

Unresolved conflicts and crisis situations around the world which are exacting a heavy toll of human life and misery add to a perception held by the public in many countries of international affairs moving irreversibly toward global tragedy. The general sense of frustration with the United Nations' seeming inability to influence the course of events is fueled by the growing spectre of nuclear war.

The existence of the United Nations can never ensure compliance by powerful sovereign States with international norms, but many nations, especially the smaller ones, strive to conduct their affairs in conformity with the Charter principles.

The United Nations has played a constructive role in the decolonization process and has eased the entry onto the world stage of new



—UPI photo

**Two religions in Cambodia. Rifle and soldier at shrine near Phnom Penh.**

nations which have more than doubled the number of participants in the international system, thus making it for the first time truly universal in character. This tremendous expansion of the international system which is reflected most vividly in the United Nations has added to the difficulty the Organization faces in harmonizing the actions of Member States toward common goals.

The preponderance of smaller States in the United Nations should be its source of strength rather than weakness. For those new States, the United Nations has always been a fact of life. It was instrumental in giving them, if not their birthright, at least their place in the sun.

The authority and stature of





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the United Nations can be immeasurably enhanced if it demonstrates the capacity to alleviate and resolve localized conflict affecting the nations of the developing world. For a majority of the world's smaller countries, the United Nations has already become a forum of first recourse rather than last resort. The United Nations must demonstrate the ability to address local problems and localized conflict situations in all parts of the world.

The Secretary-General has stated that "there is no conceivable means of pacific settlement which is not provided for in the Charter. What is lacking is not any refinement of concepts nor any development of machinery, but the politi-

cal will..." To the question of how can this political will be generated, the Secretary-General and many statesmen have replied, that it could be brought about through "force of public opinion." I would add that as a necessary first step in the mobilization of such world public opinion, the United Nations system must first demonstrate its capacity to address and be involved as effectively with the security problems of smaller States as it is doing with some of their economic and social problems. Confidence vested by the overwhelming majority of States in the ability of the United Nations system to aid in peaceful settlement of their disputes will add to the realization of public support for the peace-keeping role of the United Nations.

## Oust Israel from UN

excerpted from UN speech  
by Abdul Halim Khaddam  
Deputy Foreign Minister  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Syrian Arab Republic

Domination, exploitation, the plundering of national resources, persecution, aggression and the protection of the aggressor have become the rules guiding the conduct of imperialist, racist and Zionist forces in international relations. Most United Nations member states and world public opinion have declared that international peace and security cannot be realized and stabilized until the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law replace the law of the jungle, and unless injustice, persecution and oppression are eliminated and all forms of racism, including zionism, are uprooted, unless peoples regain their usurped rights, and unless colonialism, neo-colonialism, domination, hegemony and the plundering of the peoples' national resources are eradicated root and branch...

The dangerous and tragic situation in the Middle East clearly reflects the disruption which the international community has un-

dergone as a result of the constant Israeli aggression. The tragedy of the Palestinian people and the whole Middle East region dates back to the establishment of Israel on the soil of Palestine...

World zionism is plotting to become, through its control of the region and its natural resources—energy ranking foremost—a force



—New York Times photo

Word from Moscow is conveyed to UN by Soviet chief delegate Oleg A. Troyanovsky.

controlling this basic commodity and forcing the world to deal with the region through it. This explains the aggressive attitude of world zionism and its base, Israel, built on a permanent callous contempt of the nations, organizations and international institutions of the world...

On 14 December 1981 Israel's Parliament enacted a "law" annexing the Syrian Golan Heights. This annexation was rejected by the Security Council and by the General Assembly... Israel has continued to pursue its aggressive policy by bombarding Lebanon's towns and villages, and the whole world knows about the savagery of Israel's shelling of Beirut, which killed hundreds of innocent victims.

On June 4, 1982 Israel's army launched an all-out attack on Lebanon, preceded by air and sea raids on various Lebanese areas.

In this war, the Israelis killed tens of thousands of people, mostly civilians—women, children and elderly people. They also displaced hundreds of thousands and destroyed villages, towns and civilian installations. Even hospitals and places of worship were not spared. They used internationally-banned weapons. And all this came under the title of "Peace for Galilee."

A survey of Israeli decisions together with the statements of Israeli leaders, shows us that the aggression on Lebanon had the following objectives: first, to liquidate the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and to displace the Palestinians anew; secondly, to control Lebanon through what they call the establishment of "a strong government," as if any government installed by foreign occupation can ever be "strong"; thirdly, to impose a "peace treaty" on the state of Lebanon; fourthly, to usurp parts of Lebanon... and, fifthly, to deal a military blow to Syria, and weaken it in order to weaken Arab resistance to Israeli aggression, since Syria is the base and pivot of this resistance.

The storming of Beirut and the horrible massacre committed there... calls into question the value and credibility of the guarantees given by a super-power like the United States of America. It also



casts grave doubts on the validity of such guarantees whenever Israel is involved in a problem....

The countries which voted in favour of admitting Israel to membership of the world Organization based their approval on the Israeli pledge that Israel would be a peace-loving State, committed to the United Nations Charter and its principles. Are not Israel's racist crimes, its barbarous acts of aggression, its invasion of Lebanon and the war of extermination it is waging against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples enough to make those countries reconsider their attitude to that State, which was originally founded on aggression and which has grown and expanded through aggression?...

The United States of America bears a special responsibility for

all Israel's crimes and acts of aggression against the Arabs. Therefore, the United States should immediately withdraw its political and military protection from Israel and should pave the way for the international community to impose sanctions against that racist aggressor, to end all types of assistance, including military and economic aid, and to suspend its membership of the world Organization.

Despite all the tragedies suffered by the Arabs as a result of the aggressive presence of the Israelis in the region, and in spite of the wars waged by Israeli troops in Lebanon against the Arab nation, at the recent 12th Arab Summit, held at Fez, Morocco, a peace plan was announced based on the following principles: first, complete

Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories; secondly, recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to return, to self-determination and to establish their own independent State under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, their sole legitimate representative; and, thirdly, the formulation by the United Nations Security Council of the guarantees of peace.

In announcing these principles, which are recognized by the United Nations and by most countries of the world, the Arabs are well aware that Israel is seeking not peace based on right and justice, but rather to impose capitulation by force, aggression and oppression.

## Help UN or risk disaster

by Peter Kihss  
Reporter and Correspondent  
New York Herald-Tribune,  
New York Times

A Liberian delegate once justified his part in a General Assembly debate by telling about a teacher who said there were 20 sheep, and one ran away, and who asked how many were left. A city boy replied: "19." A country boy said: "None." The teacher upbraided the country boy. The country boy rejoined: "Teacher, I may not know arithmetic, but I know sheep. One sheep gone, all sheep gone."

The United Nations can bring together all kinds of people. It can give new perspectives. It can offer new opportunities. But it all depends on the will of governments — and the peoples behind them.

The political United Nations system had early successes. Under Security Council pressures, the Soviet Union withdrew forces from Iran in 1946. No early violator of international law knew whether United Nations views would be backed up by actions.

In the Korean war in 1950, the Soviet Union had boycotted the Security Council, the remaining members ordered up combat forces in which 16 nations aided South Korea.

But there have been increasing failures. Even when the United Nations interposed peace-keeping forces, the 1967 Israeli-Arab war broke out after Secretary-General U Thant withdrew a 3400-member patrol on the unilateral demand of Egypt's President Gamel Abdel Nasser.

Last year the 6,000-member United Nations force in southern Lebanon was unable to prevent anti-Israel terrorism, and then was itself overrun by an ensuing Israeli invasion with no counter by the nations who had sent soldiers to the symbolic unit.

The United Nations is the expression of the governments involved, and they have lacked courage to apply force, a last resort. It has degenerated frequently into a voting machine, with words widely ignored. Too often it has become a propaganda operation, with votes

unrepresentative of a world opinion reflecting real power, responsibility or even morality.

In part, the one-nation, one-vote system has made the votes unrealistic. In part, great-power vetoes have blocked action by the more representative Security Council.

The founders conceived of the United Nations as a system for achieving consensus, not a voting contest. The principle of unanimity of the great powers was to be an incentive to reach agreements, not a veto for self-interest.

The need for agreements among the great powers—even regrettably to restrain smaller nations which could ignite and spread conflicts—remains. The world lives on the brink of catastrophe—the 1962 Cuban missile crisis has been followed by recurring threats, notably in the Middle East.

There could be structural changes in the United Nations. There have been proposals for weighted voting. One based on financial contributions could easily become one-sided Western dominance. An ingenious early idea was to weight votes by educational attainment—but high education levels in the population did not stop Kaiser and Hitler Germany from bringing about World Wars.

Another idea might be to require General Assembly majorities to reflect every part of the world.



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This would divide the planet into geographic areas which could be designed to include diversity. An Eastern Europe zone could have not only the Soviet bloc but Greece and Turkey. A Middle East zone could have both divided Arabs and Israel. Any resolution unable to secure one vote from each such zone would not be worth pursuing.

But mechanics are not the answer. There has to be a will to agreement. Smaller nations can prod the great powers at the United Nations. In the early days, able men from non-superpowers like Lester

Pearson of Canada and Carlos Romulo of the Philippines really worked for agreements. The world's peoples must be continually informed of what happens at the United Nations. The charter says it is the peoples who must "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Herbert V. Evatt of Australia, an early General Assembly president, once telegraphed me: "In the words of an old Siberian motto, if at first you don't escape, try, try again." More trying is needed—the alternative is disaster.

movement with important ties to the Soviet bloc; and with countries which have sought to protect themselves by using government violence against guerrilla violence.

Most of the human rights violations singled out for attention in the United Nations are Latin—not, certainly, because the greatest human rights violations of our century have taken place there. The Holocaust, Gulag, Pol Pot's genocidal utopia, Vietnam's labor camps, Idi Amin's slaughterhouse—have won for Europe, Asia and Africa records of human rights violations unmatched in the Western Hemisphere....

Even though their records of internal repression and external aggression are clear and well-known, countries linked to the Soviet Union are protected against charges of human rights violations by their membership in the Soviet bloc which, like other blocs, functions as a mutual protection society. The fact that many members of the Soviet bloc are also members of other groups extends their access and influence....

There is another reason that the Soviet Union and its bloc are successful in avoiding the attention of United Nations human rights groups. It is because they have been very successful in selling, here in the United Nations and in influential circles outside this body, a perverse doctrine of violence and human rights which

## UN and Soviet mock human rights

excerpted from UN speech  
by Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick  
U. S. Permanent Representative  
to UN

"The purposes of the United Nations," says Chapter one, Article one, are:

"to achieve international co-operation...in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

It was entirely natural that persons concerned with the preservation of international peace should have been committed also to the preservation of human rights and freedom because the two are inexorably linked....

Given the incompatibility of violence with human rights and freedom, one might suppose that the U.N.'s concern with human rights would recognize the method of violence in internal and external affairs as incompatible with the Charter and destructive of human rights. With shock, one learns that in many cases the use of force and violation of human rights are not seen as a violation of the Charter relevant to U.N. bodies with responsibility for protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Some violations are defined out of existence, some are simply

ignored. Only a very limited class of violence and violations are deemed relevant to U.N. purposes today.

Most of the questions of human rights with which United Nations bodies have concerned themselves in recent years are of a single kind. U.N. human rights bodies concern themselves with relatively small, relatively underdeveloped, non-Communist nations, which are not members of any cohesive bloc; which are or have recently been the target of a national liberation



Death squad victims in El Salvador.

—Magnum/Susan Meiselas



stands traditional conceptions on their heads....

According to this upside-down view of human rights and self-defense, revolutionary violence—that is, violence committed by those linked to the Soviet Union and its clients—is defined as a just protest against an unjust society. Such violence may result in dead civilians, bombed school children, widespread economic destruction, but it will not be considered a violation of human rights if it is committed in the name of revolution against any society whose citizens do not enjoy all the rights listed in the Universal Declaration, that is, most of the societies in the

world today....

The continued widespread abuse of human rights in our world constitutes a challenge to all peoples and governments committed to promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms... It would take account of the Soviet Union's continuing, massive, flagrant violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of the Afghan people, of the repression of the Helsinki Watch Committee, of the brutal imprisonment of Anatoly Scharansky, of the abuse of psychiatric treatment, the denial of the right to emigrate, and the repression of Andrei Sakharov.

A serious concern with human

rights would also require taking account of the flight of more than thirty thousand Ugandans across the border to Rwanda, and of repression in other African states where freedom is denied and due process of law violated. It would take account of Apartheid in South Africa....

The people and government of the United States believe in the method of consent, and we deplore all, I repeat all, recourse to the method of violence in internal and international affairs. We urge, even demand, that societies under attack practice the disciplines of freedom and law even as they defend themselves.

## UN should curb superpowers

excerpted from UN speech  
by Pierre Mauroy  
Prime Minister of France

France wishes to underscore its confidence in the United Nations and in the capacity of this Organization to revert to its original mission, namely the maintenance of peace. Our assembly is in effect the only one in which all states gather on an equal footing....

Wherever we look we see only disorder and confusion. Since our Organization was founded blood has already been spilled in some 120 conflicts on this earth....

Old conflicts are being perpetuated. States are being invaded. Others are being torn asunder. This year the absurd war in the South Atlantic was added to the list. It showed once again in striking fashion that the use of force is never a permanent solution to a quarrel. In the Middle East also the world has had to recognize once again the futility of military operations. Only death and suffering profit by it while the basic issue remains untouched....

In Eastern Europe, in a Poland that is occupied by its own army, we see a courageous people prevented from choosing the paths of



—C.A.F./AP

**Lech Walesa, leader of quashed Solidarity union, after release from custody by government.**

liberty.

In Central America, confrontations are spreading and redoubling in intensity. How can it be otherwise when peoples are denied the elementary right to shape their own futures?...

We are thus witnessing a worldwide deterioration that fosters

selfishness and increasing violence of which terrorism is one of the most odious manifestations. Every kind of excuse is made to justify this violence—security, religion, ideologies and sometimes just outright vengeance. The rights of states, of peoples and of individuals are all too often flouted in the names of these. France sees in this disturbing signs of a regression of mankind, of a return to a situation in which might makes right....

The continuing temptation of the superpowers to defend or enlarge their spheres of influence, to deal with the world's problems through the distorting lens of their interests alone and to translate states' internal tensions or neighboring countries' disputes into a confrontation between East and West is a permanent factor of destabilization....

In the West, one of the superpowers makes use of the disarray of the international monetary system to suit its national interests. It sets its budgetary and monetary policy without taking into account the possible consequences to other states.

In the East, the other superpower continues, directly or indirectly, to make use of military force to oppose peoples' wishes to determine their own future.

This blindness on the part of the two superpowers is without a doubt one of the principal causes of the world's present disorders....



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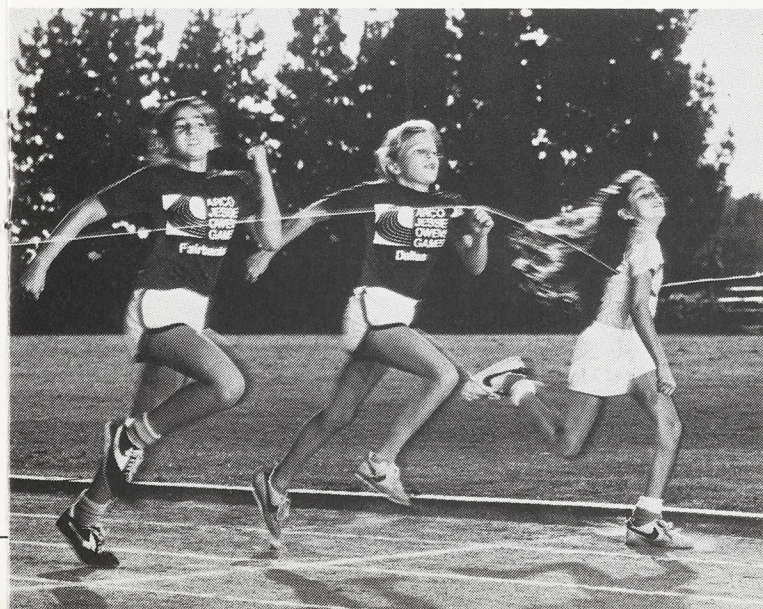
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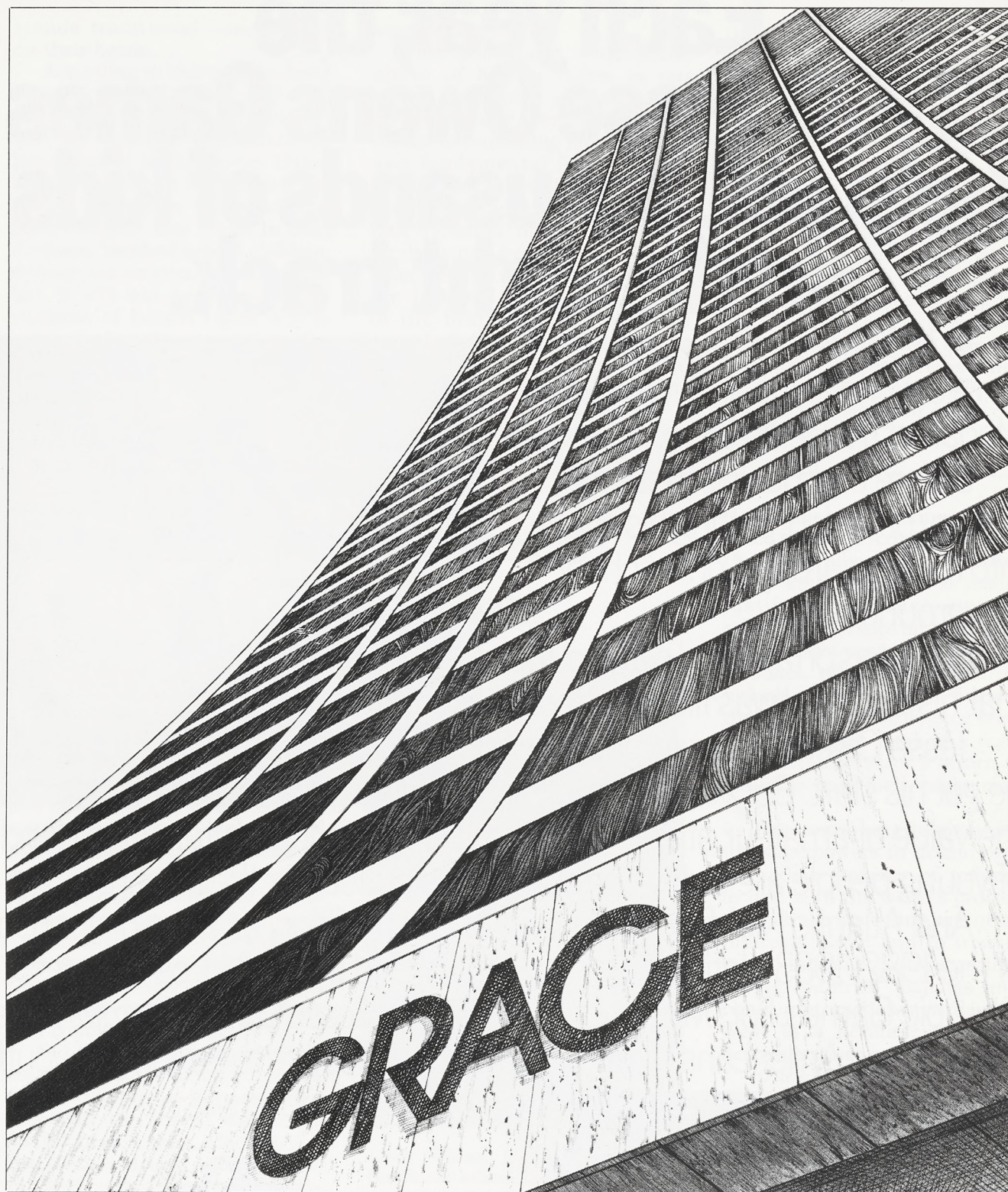
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Behind a facade of international meetings and a degree of concentration more highly developed than ever before in history, the community that we form seems in fact to be breaking up, becoming disjointed, with each national entity falling back increasingly upon itself....

In the case of Afghanistan, France reaffirms its support for any political solution leading to the withdrawal of the foreign forces....

In Central America the principles France has expressed alone or along with states in the region are now more relevant than ever: political settlement of internal or external conflicts, absolute respect for the sovereignty of states and in particular the right of peoples freely to determine the forms of their economic and social development;

regional guarantees of security and noninterference....

In the case of Lebanon, the invasion of which was condemned by France, we will continue to work to see that country's sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity restored and respected....

About disarmament. Our position is based on two ideas that are simple but that I believe can be recommended by their realism: a balance of forces and verifiable monitoring of the reduction of arms stockpiles....

Our Charter must remain the hope of the oppressed. It recognizes the right—if not the duty—of the organized international community to be concerned over the way in which each state acquits itself of its obligations toward its own peoples.

the past. Futile as the U.N. may seem, no one has yet suggested a sensible alternative. The place is a public convenience, well lit, anti-septic and a considerable comfort to those who use it. Almost unnoticed, nations that have been arguing since the end of World War II over who owns what at sea, have produced a massive set of rules of the road. (The Reagan administration didn't like those fixed for the mining of metals nobody now wants, but that is not likely to be the last U.S. word on the subject.) If Africans need to blow off steam over South Africa or Arabs over Israel, the U.N. offers them a hall. When Soviet troops invaded Hungary, the U.S. did not go to war, but huffed and puffed at the U.N.; it is not unlikely that the same scenario would be played out if Moscow marches into Warsaw.

The peacekeepers were brushed aside in Lebanon. But they still provide a symbolic screen between Israel and Syria on the Golan Heights, an excuse for India and Pakistan to forget their quarrel over Kashmir and a reason for Cypriot Turks and Greeks to talk instead of fire across the Green Line.

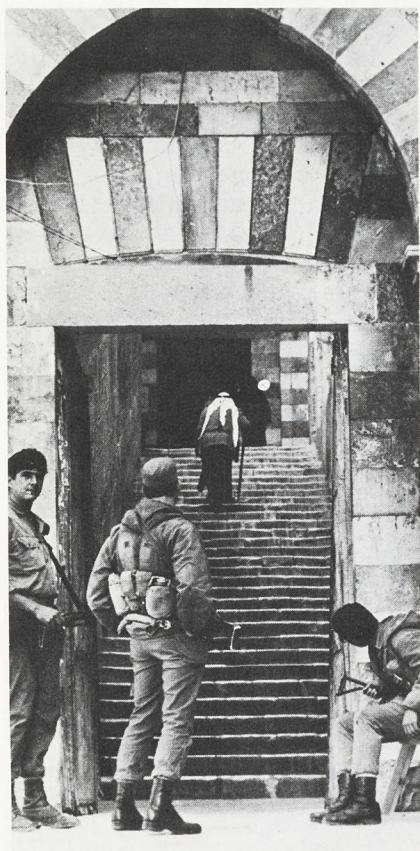
Mr. Perez de Cuellar's singular public service was to call attention to the fact that his house was empty, that international anarchy threatened. He even offered some modest suggestions for tidying up—preventive diplomacy (and his own quiet efforts may have cooled off Venezuelan ardor to imitate Argentina by grabbing territory Caracas claims in Guyana); fact-finding and mediation for incipient disputes. All may be useful; none is central. When countries want to settle quarrels through the U.N., they can; when they don't, they won't. The place is a congress of sovereign states, not a parliament of man. It can work, but only if the duespayers want to use it. In the end, it is possible that South Africa will give Namibia independence through a U.N.-supervised vote; it is even conceivable that Arab states and Israel will evolve a peace buttressed by Security Council guarantees. The U.N., for all its obvious shortcomings, has the means; it can do nothing, however, without the will and assent of the members.

## UN needs support of members

by Bernard D. Nossiter  
U.N. Bureau Chief  
The New York Times

"Diplomacy is gestures," said one of the shrewdest United Nations' ambassadors, and the appropriate symbol for the past year has quite clearly been a thumb turned down. Nothing seemed to work. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the cultivated, serious new Secretary General struggled manfully but could not stop Britain and Argentina from warring over the Falklands. In Lebanon, Israel ignored U.N. peacekeepers, themselves symbols armed only with light weapons for self-defense, ignored repeated directives from the Security Council and rolled north through Beirut. In the Sinai and in Beirut, national forces, not blue-helmets, monitor the peace. At the close of 1982, the Reagan administration supplied a fitting blow, refusing to pay a U.N. bill for something it didn't like.

Even so, there are few demands to scrap the glass and concrete palace on First Avenue. The cry, "Get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.," is an echo from



—Contact/Alan Reiningger

West Bank Israeli patrol watches Arab in Hebron.



# UN best hope to save civilization

Excerpted from UN speech by  
Jose Lopez Portillo  
former President of Mexico

Mexico sees in the United Nations the best and highest international forum, where it is possible to hope for rationality in the overwhelming presence of the absurd. Since the unparalleled destruction of the Second World War this has been the only setting in which arguments can be adduced in the light of reason and law to prevent a new conflict that very probably would be our last. It represents the only way to give new impetus to the endeavours of civilization.

If these words seem exaggerated to us today, if the dramatic tone strikes us as anachronistic, let us ponder the fact that less than 40 years have passed since the end of that war. Let us recall that it was preceded, and in fact brought on by, an economic depression and that the despair caused by that serious setback proved to be an evil counsellor of peoples and Governments. Let us remember that before absurdity and death took over there was a slow and gradual debasement of reason and of life itself.

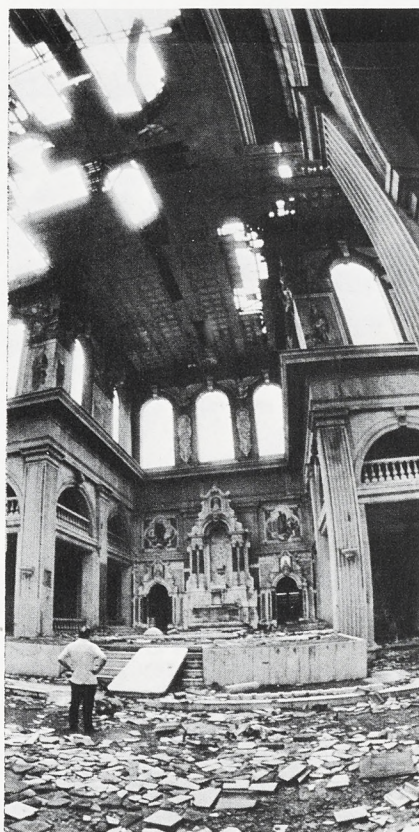
The symptoms are ominous. In recent years we have drifted far from the principles that gave birth to this Organization, in large measure because of the attitude of those who think they can achieve their objectives through the use of force and disregard of the law. They fail to realize that in abandoning the processes of the rational solution of controversies or disputes they bring us all closer to the abyss of violence and anarchy.

Today there is no region that can regard itself as immune from crisis. The tragic conflicts of the South Atlantic and the Middle East bear witness to this....

We note with concern that pressure is being brought to bear on the Members of the United Nations in order to sway their votes. The results that are sometimes achieved

indicate the vulnerability of many countries. The negotiating mechanisms prevailing in some agencies of the system raise doubts as to whether they are at the service of those who created them or whether they are inspired by true respect for the sovereignty of States.

Mexico has always been active in and committed to the United Nations, not with the idea that it may be the last resort for the pre-



—UPI jca/Anderson

**Blasted Managua cathedral in Nicaraguan revolution.**

vention of total destruction but because it is the best means available to us to halt the process that could lead to such an outcome.

This makes it essential to bring together the two fundamental areas of negotiation for which the world is waiting: that which will lead to detente between the two super-Powers and that which will re-

organize relationships among countries with different levels of development...

We believe that the arms race and development are in competition with each other, not only as regards the utilization of available resources but also because they represent incompatible approaches: arrogance and inequality, which will lead to annihilation or tolerance and co-operation, which would make progress possible for all....

Everything would indicate that the world economy is being sacrificed to the arms race. The Great Powers are arming themselves even at the expense of their own standards of living, while their adversaries are doing the same. And they are dragging all mankind, which wants not weapons but progress, into this vortex....

The practical ineffectiveness of the means of collective security is at the very core of armed conflict. Thus, for example, when a weak country is openly threatened by political pressure that is superior to its own strength and it realizes that it cannot rely on the United Nations for protection it is reduced to the fateful choice between arming itself or being annihilated.

At the same time, when the international community is incapable of generating the minimum conditions needed for general progress, peoples have to choose between the wretchedness of abject subsistence and the harsh road of revolution. Such is the tragedy of Latin America today. Such are the prospects of most of the nations here represented.

At the present moment, rather than an appeal, what is needed is a warning: the world is absolutely interdependent, and not one of its parts can be saved if the others are doomed....

The United Nations was created in a different era and the Organization and its Members now find themselves at the crossroads. We have the forum we deserve and there is no other. If we do not know how to use it to overcome the crisis and establish a more equitable order, and above all one compatible with our times, there will be no further opportunity. Global negotiations should begin immediately,



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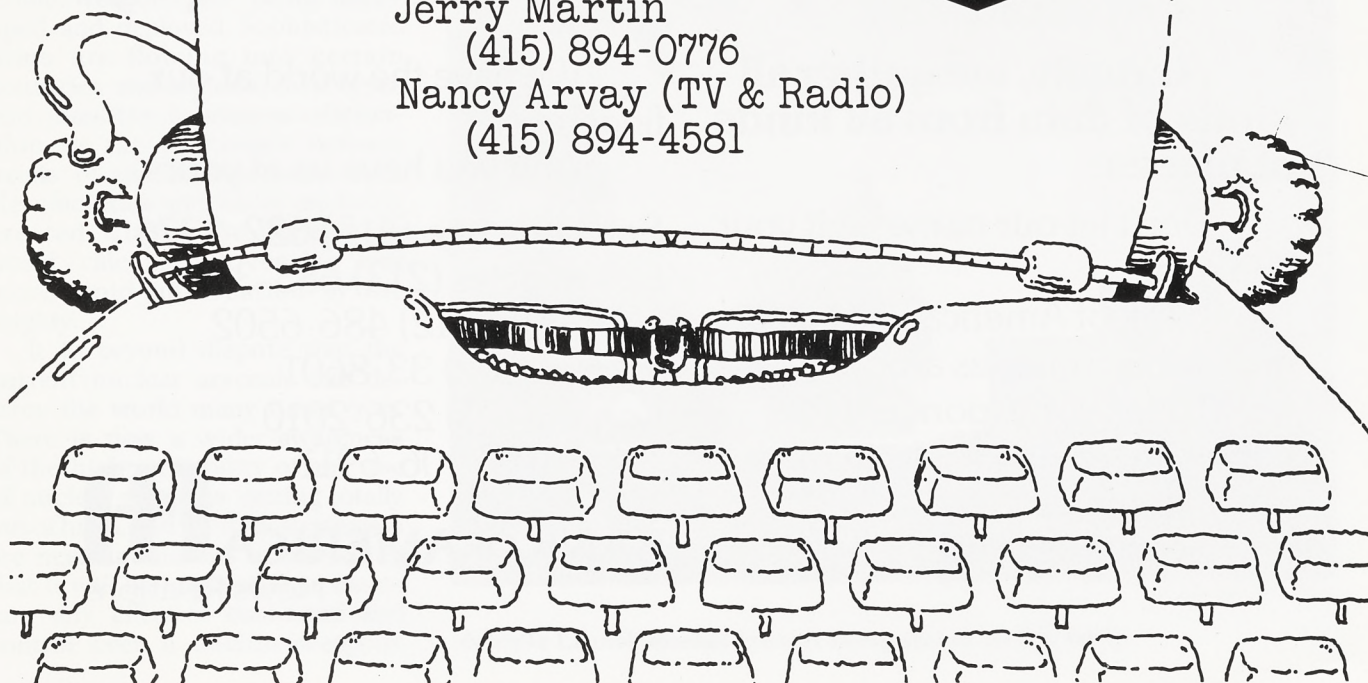
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and they should be conducted thoroughly, with a serious intention of reaching agreement. World peace and security are threatened to an even greater extent today. We must safeguard them at all costs. Any solution or concession is preferable to the alternative. We cannot afford to fail. Something tremendous is at stake here, not only the heritage of civilization, but the very survival of our children, of future generations, of mankind itself.

Let us not resign ourselves to the United Nations becoming bogged down in formal procedures, while outside pressures are

brought to bear to satisfy selfish interests unable to withstand the test of inclusion in an international legal order.

We are all part of this union. It is as strong as we wish to make it, particularly those who have the real power and therefore the ultimate responsibility. We have never created anything better or more efficient. This is the time to decide whether mankind belongs to the powerful, or the powerful to mankind. That has never been truer than now. We shall know the answer here, and in the centuries to come people will bear witness to it.

ing this, nuclear theology has had to come up with doctrines of counterforce, and limited nuclear war, and the linkage thesis. History teaches us that military and political strategies of so-called deterrence are often overtaken by weapons technologies and their actual use in war....

Nuclear war doctrines are, in essence, doctrines of terrorism practised by nation States. They are based on subjecting populations of entire countries to the terror of obliteration....

The basic fact is that the struggle for disarmament in the nuclear age cannot be waged on the basis of concepts of a pre-nuclear age. Before the advent of nuclear weapons, disarmament was a question hinging on a balanced limitation or reduction of arms. In the nuclear age, obviously, this is no longer valid, since the stake involved here is the very survival of mankind....

The preponderant number of the armed conflicts waged in the 37 years since the Second World War have taken place in the developing world and have generally been the result of Great Power involvement, direct or indirect. Insecurity today oppresses more and more non-aligned countries,

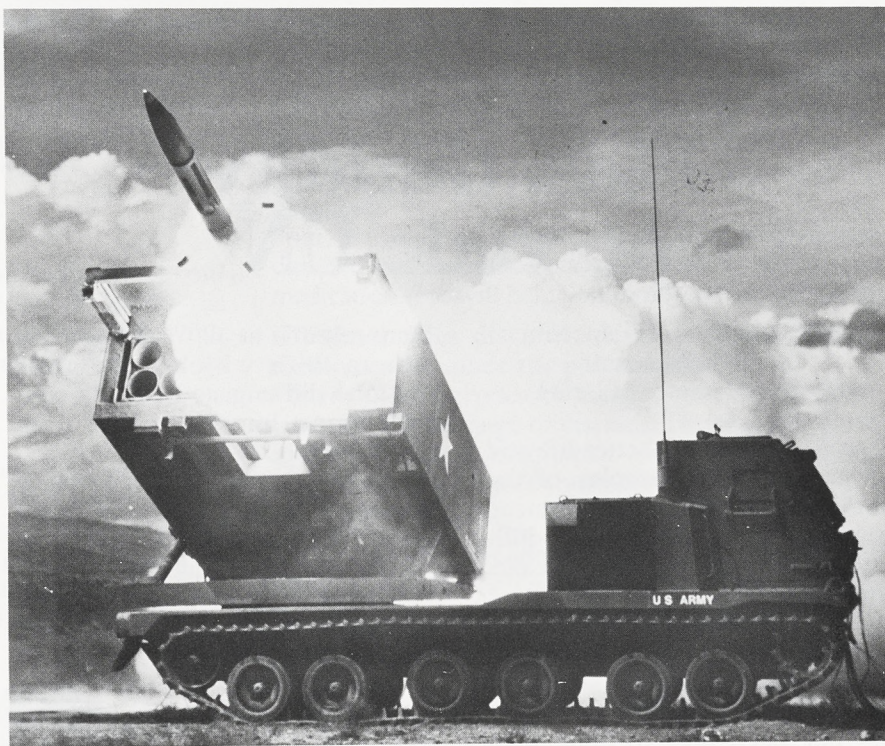
## UN must freeze nuclear weapons

Excerpted from UN speech by  
Mr. P. V. Narashimha Rao  
Minister for External  
Affairs, India

The chill of a new cold war affects us all. Detente is being eroded as all of us watch helplessly. Armament budgets of leading industrialised nations spiral upwards, unchecked, with induced effects elsewhere. New generations of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons are being developed and deployed. Sophisticated arms are flowing into certain countries and regions, their types and quantities bearing no relationship to the legitimate defence needs of the nations concerned. New facilities and forces are being created within the developing world, calculated to enable ever more rapid intervention by the mighty....

It is beyond dispute that the current nuclear arsenals can destroy the world many times over. There is now a wider awareness of the high probability of any use of nuclear weapons getting totally out of hand, and military strategists are near unanimous in conceding that it will be impossible to maintain any effective command and control over a nuclear weapons

exchange, within minutes of its commencement. If everyone comes to believe that nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are not meant for use, these would at once lose their deterrence as the currency of terror. Perhaps realiz-



—New York Times photo

Multiple Launch Rocket System being tested by U.S. Army.



as local conflicts in the developing world become increasingly structured into Great Power designs.

This sense of insecurity is not restricted to the developing world alone. In the developed countries too, no Government or individual can now feel free of the great anxiety and fear for the possible outbreak of a nuclear war, since such a war would engulf all States....

The first and most urgent step in the efforts to root out the menace of nuclear weapons is to agree immediately upon the total prohibition of their use....

India proposed to the Secretary-General, the concept of a freeze on nuclear weapons. This proposal provided for a complete stoppage of any further production of such weapons, combined with a complete cut-off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes....

It is also our strong belief, that in addition to such a freeze, steps should be taken for an immediate suspension of all nuclear weapons tests in all environments by all nuclear weapons States, pending a comprehensive Test Ban....

We cannot subscribe to the legitimisation of the possession of nuclear weapons by a few

Powers by agreeing to live under their professedly benign protection in the guise of a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone....

It is India's conviction, therefore, that the focus of disarmament must be clearly directed on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. General and Complete Disarmament encompasses the eventual elimination of **all** weapons of war....

The arms race has complicated the process of stabilising the international monetary system, aggravated the balance of payment problems and distorted the desired evolution of healthy international exchange in a period of growing economic interdependence. On the other hand the catalytic effects of arms limitation and disarmament are bound to broaden the base of detente and lead to the channelling of some of the released resources for the benefit of the developing countries....

The industrialised world is apprehensive about the withholding of scarce raw materials and sources of energy. If only they would divert their research and development efforts from defence even partially, some of these problems would not remain as intractable as they appear today.

## Bias, timidity pervade UN

excerpted from UN speech  
by Yitzhak Shamir  
Foreign Minister of Israel

The prospects for a better life and for peace for the peoples of the world have hardly been advanced this past year, while new difficulties have been added to the old, unresolved problems.

Major international problems of an economic, social and military nature have also grown at a rapid rate, and the international system has not been able to cope with them. Many essential problems have not reached the United Na-

tions agenda at all. With regard to others with which the United Nations did engage itself, its contributions have been far from encouraging....

In Afghanistan, the aggressive invasion, occupation and strife continue unabated....

Kampuchea remains occupied by Vietnamese troops who have disregarded calls for a withdrawal by the United Nations....

We witnessed the violent eruption of the old conflict over the Falkland-Malvinas Islands. Although the United Nations has been involved for years in the ques-



—AP photo

Arab woman near Beirut rejoices as PLO husband leaves Lebanon and Israeli threat.

tion of the sovereignty over those islands, it was unable to prevent war to stop it....

There are those who suggest, whether out of naivety, ignorance or ill intent, that a solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute would bring peace and stability throughout the Middle East region. The recent events in Lebanon alone demonstrate the fallacy of this suggestion. Some Arab governments could not resist the temptation to utilize the services of terrorist organizations to settle their scores with other governments. A small defenceless state, Lebanon, with a weak gov-



# 5,000,000 have diabetes and don't know it...

*You could be one*

It's estimated that 5 million Americans have diabetes and don't know it. The early symptoms are vague and may seem minor. As a result, they are often ignored or not taken seriously enough. Yet, if undiagnosed, diabetes can lead to serious complications affecting various parts of the body, including eyes, heart, kidneys, brain or even life itself.

#### **What are the symptoms of diabetes?**

There may be none. Or there may be such simple things as an increase in skin infections or a slower healing of bruises and cuts. Also, be aware of excessive thirst or hunger, frequent need to urinate and extreme fatigue.

These symptoms do not necessarily occur all at once and they usually develop gradually. So it's easy to understand how they can be overlooked or considered part of the normal aging process.

It is important, therefore, to be alert to changes in your body and report them directly to your doctor. You have a greater chance of being diabetic if you are over 40, overweight or have a history of diabetes anywhere in the family.

#### **What is diabetes?**

Diabetes is a disorder in which the body cannot control the levels of sugar in the blood. Normally the hormone, insulin, regulates the blood sugar level. But if your body does not produce or effectively use its insulin, diabetes results.

#### **Treatment of diabetes.**

Diabetes usually can be successfully managed. Some diabetics need no more than weight reduction, the right foods and moderate exercise to bring blood sugar levels under control. And, if these changes are not enough, a simple oral medication is all that may be needed. Today, even those who need insulin can be

better and more comfortably managed by their doctors than ever before.

#### **The diagnosis is easy.**

But only your doctor can make it. And remember, if you are over 40 and overweight, or have diabetes in your family, you should have regular blood and urine tests. Early diagnosis in adults can lead to better management and fewer problems later on.

#### **Only your doctor can prescribe treatment.**

Follow your doctor's advice about diet, exercise and medication. Also, be aware that you have a support system, which we call...

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ernment, became an ideal battleground for this purpose. This was compounded by Syria's designs on Lebanon's independence and integrity. The resultant explosion had little or no connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The same applies to the Iraq-Iran conflict, the tension between Jordan and Syria and the endless disputes between Libya and the rest of the Arab world....

The United Nations has lacked the courage to rise and condemn many acts of aggression, threat, violence, blackmail and terror, both direct and indirect, towards Israel by the Arab States and their accomplices....

Among the thousands of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council or any other United Nations body during the past 30 years one will find hardly a single decision or resolution that explicitly condemns by name any Arab state or organization for attacks on Israel or Israelis. During these 30 years, have Arabs never practised military attacks, terrorist actions, hijacking airplanes, taking hostages, not to speak of the placing of embargoes and blockades and any similar hostile act which international law would even define as a *casus belli*? The Arab states and their terror organization always appear to be innocent and injured, offended but never offending....

The accumulated effect of these distortions and shortcomings could be clearly seen in Lebanon. There developed a threat to Israel, as well as to the welfare and independence of Lebanon, a base for international terror and a large heavily armed force which was being put into action in constantly escalating attacks on the villages and towns of northern Israel. Benefiting from the respectability and prestige bestowed by United Nations resolutions, the PLO entrenched itself in Lebanon and set up a pirate State within a State, forcing a regime of terror on the Palestinians and Lebanese. The PLO's terrorist bases, designed for attacks on Israel and to serve international terror, operated and grew unhindered within camps marked by UNRWA signs and enjoying welfare payments contributed for

humanitarian purposes.

Had we allowed United Nations resolution, as distinct from the United Nations Charter, to determine what might or might not be done in Arab-Israeli relations, our future would have been destruction....

The entire international community has the responsibility and should have the courage to stand up and formally ban PLO terrorism and expel its representatives from every self-respecting state and every international body. The United Nations and its agencies cannot be in the process of rehabilitation and revitalization as long as such organizations and their representatives are permitted to set foot in a civilized forum....

Israel would welcome additional partners to the process, as provided in the Camp David accords. We firmly believe that agreement is achievable. There is no need to introduce new concepts and approaches which were discarded or not accepted at Camp David. We are not prepared, for instance, to reopen the debate on issues such as the creation of a second Palestinian Arab State, which were rejected at Camp David in favor of more realistic and acceptable solutions....

The Arab leaders responsible for this campaign against Israel have inflicted such suffering on the Palestinian Arabs without bringing them any closer to a solution of their problems. History will record the fact that Israel did more for the Palestinian Arabs and their welfare than their Arab brethren....

The foul massacre of civilians in the camps at Beirut brought a wave of shock, outrage and revulsion in Israel. The perpetrators of this crime are well known. They were not Israeli. Nevertheless, there were manifestations of blind hatred and false accusations levelled at Israel from a number of quarters. Such actions are outrageous and deserve universal condemnation.

All those who proceed along this path must realize that by such action they are weakening the chances of peace and encouraging those elements in the Middle East whose interests are served by radicalization and violence. The Middle East is sorely in need of good counsel, moderation, much patience and a sincere desire for coexistence of diverse ideas, ideologies, faiths and communities. Israel, for its part, is ready to participate in and contribute to the creation of such a reality and atmosphere in the Middle East.

## Third world shapes UN

by Johannes Steel  
Columnist for the  
McNaught Syndicate

United Nations was the name first used to describe the Alliance of Nations fighting a war against the Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan, which was to end in the unconditional surrender of the Axis aggressors. The first "official" use of the term "United Nations" came on January 1, 1942 with the proclamation of the war aims of the Allied Powers in the "Declaration of The United Nations." The key words were "War Aims."

In this genesis may well lie the reasons for what Señor Xavier Perez de Cuellar describes in his

Report of The Secretary General as the "difficulties related to conflicts between national aims and Charter goals and to the current tendency to resort to confrontation, violence and even war in pursuit of what are perceived as vital interests, claims or aspirations."

On April 25, 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organization convened in San Francisco, California.

Those who were present at San Francisco either as diplomats, journalists or observers from all over the world were without a doubt imbued with a profound conviction that millions all over the world hoped fervently that the United Nations formed by the



victors of World War II would succeed where the League of Nations had failed.

The first "geological fault" in the United Nations system emerged with the cold war. The historic reality is that the growing cold war between the non-communist states led by the United States and the communist world led by the Soviet Union made the peace keeping functions of the United Nations in general and its Security Council in particular illusory. The adoption of the principle of unanimity as the basis for ACTIONS on the part of the Security Council to keep the peace, in effect destroyed its ability to do so.

Inevitably the United States and the Soviet Union rushed in to expand their influence and control into the power vacuums left at the end of World War II. The Soviet Union converted the Eastern and Central European states into communist satellites. Communist parties all over the world became instruments of Soviet foreign policy. At the same time the United States expanded its influence in Western Europe, and much of Asia and Latin America.

There was a logical progression from the proclamation of the Truman doctrine, to the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Organization of American States as well as the Southwest Asia Organization. The events in Korea in the 1950's and the events in Vietnam in the 1960's were a natural climax.

Certainly the U.N. became and is an important symbol and vehicle for human welfare. But not a decisive force for peace.

Eventually the bipolar world was profoundly changed by the emergence of the THIRD WORLD. The apotheosis of the Third World may have occurred on March 7 of this year when India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi opened a conference of world leaders in New Delhi. In taking over the chairmanship of 101 third world nations she described them as "nonaligned." In fact many if not most of these countries are in varying degree "aligned" in their foreign policies with the Soviet Union. They function as such in the United Nations. It is this "THIRD FORCE" which

today shapes almost all action and procedures of the United Nations.

One fact that is contributing to the disintegration of the United Nations as the keeper of peace is that the military peace-keeping operations have lost their credibility as Mr. de Cuellar has pointed out. The introduction of independent national forces, United States, France, Italy, and Great Britain, in Lebanon have made the Security Council obsolete as the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace.

It is true that in the past there have been quite a number of oc-

casions when the United Nations intervention has helped to prevent the outbreak of war, but the real problem would seem to be one of identity. Either the United Nations is an organization composed of sovereign states governing their relations to one another or it is concerned with the merit and morality of the various political structures of these states. The world cannot have both.

No one can or will deny the concept of the United Nations is the best idea that has emerged in 2,000 years and the best last hope for the survival of mankind.



—AP Photo

Russia's Andre Vishinsky, Britain's Sir Pierson Dixon and U.S. Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. at 12-nation Disarmament Commission at the U.N. on April 14, 1954.

## Serious Diplomacy needed at UN

by Tad Szulc  
Columnist, Commentator

Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Secretary General of the United Nations, was clearly correct in his diagnosis in the 1982 Report that the organization he heads is increasingly "helpless." To be sure, it was not a novel thought insofar as the UN's inability to influence constructively great world events goes back many years in the most visible fashion.

Having stated a verity, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, in my opinion, overstates his case dangerously, however, by suggesting that under the circumstances the only alternatives are survival or surrender. Since he also spoke of "global catastrophe," I presume that his alternatives are for the world, not just the U.N.

If his words are to be taken literally, the Secretary General has added little to what we all know about the international situation:



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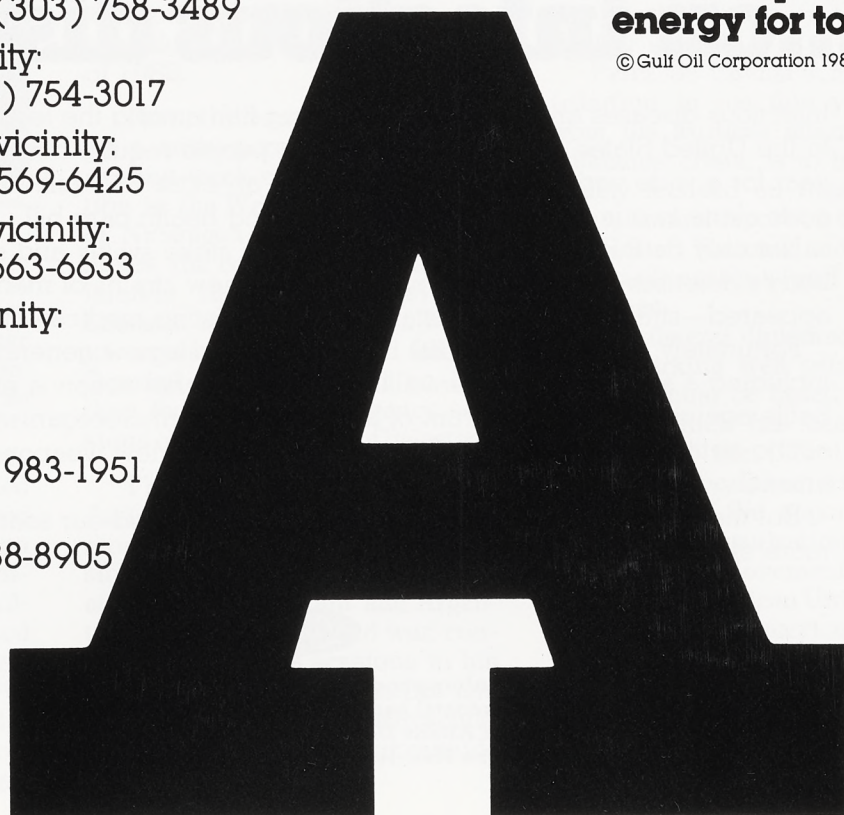
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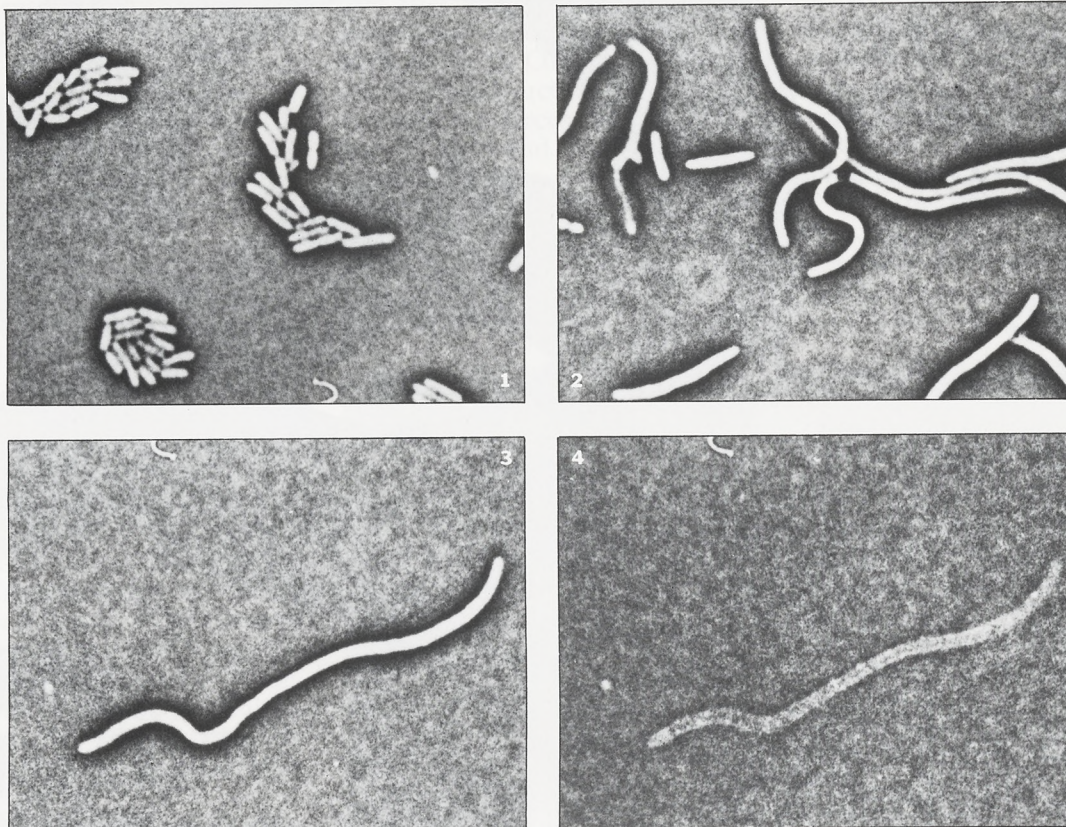
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there is a nuclear arms' race between the main superpowers and a nuclear war is not inconceivable (though not likely). That the U.N. is incapable of arresting these alarming trends is a fact of life stemming from the basic hostile relationship between the United States and the Soviet, and not from the nature or structure of the world organization. Even U.N. founders in 1945 realized that, in the end, no force can control superpowers bent on mutual destruction.

This reality takes us to the role the U.N. may, or not, play in defusing **certain** conflicts with global war potential, a theme of specific and direct concern to the Peruvian diplomat. While it is true that even in regional peace-keeping the U.N. has been generally deficient in well over a decade, I think that Mr. Perez de Cuellar is less than helpful when he poses survival or surrender as

tive. I still believe that if the U.N. didn't exist, it would have to be invented.

It is evident that the balance of power (or wisdom in exercising it) is the ultimate guarantee of peace and world survival. But, concurrently, common sense would indicate that governments everywhere would be well served by strengthening the U.N., for reasons that are as practical as idealistic.

Tearing down the structure to replace it with something vaguely different would be foolhardy. Reinforcing it, on the other hand, would be a worthy objective. How

can it be accomplished? My own sense is that the answer, importantly, lies in an unprecedented effort to mobilize the public opinion on all levels and to convince the governments to resume the practice of serious diplomacy in U.N. forums. If nothing else, such an approach may assist in controlling regional disputes before they get out of hand. And the Secretary General may be ideally suited to take command of such a crusade, turning away from the choices between survival and surrender. With some luck, he may contribute to survival.

## Weak: but UN has its uses

by Anne Tuckerman  
U.N. Correspondent  
Agence France Presse

The United Nations has been a sparse source of news since the beginning of 1983, in contrast with the almost frenetic activity which went on in the Headquarters complex along the East River for most of 1982.

Then, the Security Council met on a quasi-permanent basis, including week-ends, on the situation in the West Bank complaints of Nicaragua against the United States, the conflict in the Falkland Islands, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its aftermath. Before its regular session in the fall, the General Assembly held no less than four special emergency sessions on The Question of Palestine.

The new Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, a few months into his first term, assumed the difficult task of mediating between Britain and Argentina in an old-fashioned war, conducting countless sessions in his office with each of the parties and ritual encounters with representatives of the media camping outside the Secretariat building.

Why this inactive period now? An obvious reason is that there has been no sudden military crisis in recent months. But an explanation on a deeper level points to the fact that last year, the U.N. proved quite ineffective in dealing with those eruptions of violence or in the South Atlantic, in the Middle East or in Asia.

Perez de Cuellar's major contribution in his first year, aside from his fruitless attempt in the Falklands crisis, is to have deliberately focused on these failures in his annual report on the state of the United Nations, and searched for explanations and possible remedies.

Multilateral diplomacy has not been working well primarily because it must be based on a consensus, which has been lacking not only at the U.N. (where no action can be taken without the agreement of the major powers), but also in organizations like the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States.

The absence of enforcement machinery in the U.N. has made a tortured country like Lebanon prefer for the sensitive Beirut area a multinational force including



—AP photo

Dag Hammarskjöld

the only possible alternatives. In terms of a more effective functioning of the U.N., he engages, I fear, in perilously self-fulfilling prophecies. He takes away incentives for peace-keeping.

I am fully aware that improvement in peace-keeping and related activities is not easily achieved at this stage. There have been too many failures, and many governments—including the Reagan Administration—are disenchanted with the U.N. But, in my judgment, this is not a justification to give up on the U.N. after an existence of 38 years that by no measurement have been entirely nega-



American marines and French paratroopers, to the U.N. peace-keeping force, which was already stationed in the South, but which has neither the fighting mandate nor the political clout which may be needed.

The proposals in the Secretary-General's annual report, which are being discussed in private sessions of the Security Council, aim at increasing its functions, provided for in the Charter, of fact-finding, preventive diplomacy and real substantive negotiation. The latter would be a considerable departure from the present practices of sterile public polemics or byzantine attempts at drafting consensus resolutions with little substance or effect.

Private diplomacy, as practiced by the Secretary-General himself or his special representatives, has been useful in enabling the parties to armed conflicts to communicate through him, and to use his good offices to further responsibilities

of a settlement when they think the time is ripe.

Any assessment of the functioning of the U.N. must of necessity take into account the international situation and the will of nations to solve problems rather than confront each other, individually or in groups, ideologically if not militarily. Nationalism, old and new, and resistance to any limitation of national sovereignty have played havoc with the idealistic goals of the Charter of San Francisco.

Yet, if, in the present period, the U.N. seems powerless to advance the cause of peace and disarmament, it fulfills the recognized need for interdependence in other fields, such as economic relations and development assistance, and it contributes daily to the building of international law relating to the environment, technology and the new frontiers of man.

These subjects do not make headlines, but they are here to stay.

best one we have. Despite the Koreans, the Afghanistans, the Congos, the Middle Easts and the Vietnams, U.N. officials maintain the big powers have, and will continue to, come running to the United Nations to avert catastrophic confrontations. "It is a very good place to avoid a third world war," says Brian E. Urquhart, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs and the man responsible for all U.N. peace-keeping operations.

"It is the classic place where the nuclear powers come when they find themselves on a course of confrontation," he says. "They have done it over and over again and will certainly do it in the future."

Both Urquhart and Perez de Cuellar underline the absolute neutrality of the United Nations and point to it as a place where world leaders can gracefully blink when foes glare at them down the gun-barrel.

"The United Nations is a very good place for saving face," Perez de Cuellar maintains.

Many countries should take advantage of the United Nations," he says, "in the sense that it is much easier for a government to make concessions to the United Nations than to make concessions to one another or to a big power."

Urquhart, who has been with the United Nations since its birth, says of its face-saving capacity, "if that was the only thing the organization ever did it would still be worth it."

The former British paratrooper-turned-diplomat reminds Western critics who say that the United Nations has lost its usefulness because it is now dominated by third world countries, that the U.N. charter was cobbled together by the big powers for the whole world's benefit.

Urquhart, who probably knows the U.N.'s strengths and weaknesses better than anyone, likens it to San Francisco, where the charter was conceived 37 years ago.

"It is built on a geo-political fault," he says, "namely, the split between East and West. When that fault trembles the whole city is in panic and I can tell you that colors almost everything we do."

## UN a place to save face

by John Usher  
United Nations Correspondent  
United Press International

The United States increasingly seeks peace pacts outside the United Nations. Israel distrusts U.N. involvement in the Middle East. South Africa accuses the world organization of bias.

U.N. Secretary-General Javier de Cuellar asserts the United Nations capacity for peace-making, as opposed to peace-keeping, has not yet been fully tested.

"The problem with the United Nations is that either it's not used or it is misused by member-countries," he declares.

An organization that was established to preserve the peace after the greatest war in the history of mankind now is not whole-heartedly trusted with that formidable task by some of its founder-members.

Perez de Cuellar warned in his gloomy state of the United Nations report last September, his first since taking office nine months earlier, that "we are perilously near to a new international anarchy."

His antidote is to inject new life into the world body.

The holder of what has been described as the most impossible job in the United Nations wants, for example, the Security Council—the action arm of the United Nations—to act before a region erupts into war; the secretary-general himself to point the finger at areas of concern before they become areas in crisis.

In comparison, the balance of power—that so-called safety-net through the centuries—seems a woefully inadequate alternative to collective security. The United Nations Organization is, like Winston Churchill said of democracy, an imperfect system but it is the



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# Where words gush and U.S. pays

by George Weller  
Foreign Correspondent

The United Nations, uneasy successor to the holy peace leagues of Delphi and Delos, is a fountain of words kept pumping by soft dollars, 25% American. I was beached there thumb-sucking in the year of Stalin's death. Trusting her instincts, I brought the septuagenarian actress Josephine Hull to take a sniff of the Security Council. Andrei Vishinsky, the courtroom Robespierre who sent scores of Stalin's confessed rivals to be shot, was sawing the air, striding along ten feet from her, denouncing America for gassing Asians. Little Josephine (herself a carefree and unrepentant murderess in "Arsenic and Old Lace"), crouched down front, headphones askew. The stream of calumny became too much for her. She leaned toward me, eyes popping, mouth taut with indignation, and whispered: "If they would only let us hiss!"

You were so right, Josephine. Yet nobody bothers.

Americans still claim the League of Nations was a failure, "Had to be, because we weren't members." Yet somehow, in 20 years, the failure did far better without us than the UN in 40 years. With six nations ahead of us in per capita wages, we pay most. The UN's idea of an unfit member is the freest, sanest republic in Asia: tiny Taiwan.

Things got done at Geneva. Stalin was already strong. But when he invaded Finland, William Bullitt, FDR's ambassador to France, sneaked over to Geneva and with France's support, got Russia ousted from the League. Match that, George Kennan, Henry Kissinger, and Alexander Haig. With less "leverage" (\$\$\$), we did more.

But too many Hisses mean trouble. In the early 40s Bullitt warned State that France's Premier Daladier had told him that "two brothers named Hiss," employed

in State, were "Soviet agents." While Bullitt fidgeted in FDR's displeasure, Alger Hiss was named secretary of the four-power Dumbarton Oaks conference that created the UN. At Yalta he ranked high. Gromyko, not surprisingly, recommended him to become Secretary General of the final UN founding at San Francisco. The personnel vetted by Hiss for the UN included so many American members of Communist fronts that it took the FBI years to winkle them out. Hiss went too far. Trygve Lie, the Norwegian pioneer secretary general, discreetly omits his role from his memoirs.

And with reason. When the Soviets got Trotsky expelled from France in 1937, Stalin's rival took refuge in Socialist Norway. He felt free and safe when greeted by benevolent Justice Minister Lie. But not for long. Stalin, learning that Trotsky had an offer as leader in the Marxist government of Catalonia, saw Madrid's Communist clique threatened. He ordered Lie to expel the Trotskys by special freighter, to Mexico, where NKVD assassins abounded. Lie obeyed. In two tries the NKVD cut Trotsky down. Soviet support for Lie as secretary general was a payoff.

(When later, Lie went Zionist, the Soviets wrote him off).

The gradual "socialist" takeover of power at the UN today is being operated by the majority nations of the Third World. They focus in the loose but effective "Group of 77" (actually 125) nations. Perez de Cuellar, Peru's ex-ambassador to Moscow, was their member and successful candidate for Secretary-General (like Lebanon's Edouard Saouma in FAO, Rome). This well-informed Latin, the night the Argentine invaders landed in the Falklands, flew to Rome. He was not surprised, and he did not return to face the emergency. He dithered for 10 days, including even Venice. He had time in Rome to observe that "77," equally foresighted, already had been occupying a three-room suite in FAO's headquarters. And still does.

The cellar of UN abasement came when Israel sent stubby little ex-terrorist Itzhak Shamir, its foreign minister. To kill the UN plan to partition Palestine, Yzertinsky (true name) planned the assassination of the UN's Swedish negotiator, Folke Bernadotte. The details are in Prof. J. Bowyer Bell's "Terror Out of Zion." To read them is to blush for the UN "77" is taking over.

## UN's modest victories deserve support

by Ambassador Hamilton Whyte  
Deputy Permanent Representative  
United Kingdom Mission  
to the United Nations

Asked his opinion about women preachers, Dr. Samuel Johnson replied: 'Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog walking on its hind legs. 'Tis not well done, but wonder 'tis, 'tis done at all...'

One big difficulty about the UN is how to convey what can and what cannot reasonably be expected of it. At one extreme are the zealots who see it as our main hope for survival; at the other, the cynics who view it as an endless outpouring of rhetoric and resolutions, signifying nothing much. The reality between is elusive.

This may be particularly true



in Western eyes. The UN Charter still impresses. But the Organization has been transformed. It is not what was conceived in 1945. But neither is it therefore misbegotten. The Founding Fathers in San Francisco sought to construct a mechanism to keep the peace, a League of Nations with teeth, a guarantee against World War III. They were able to do this on the basis of short-lived consensus among the allied nations at the end of World War II. But that consensus was shattered, by Stalin, before the mechanism could be established. Keeping the peace between East and West became the business of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the UN a propaganda side-show in a Cold War. Via deterrence and detente,

paramount concern. For Middle East nations, peace and security hinge on the problems of Arab/Israel; for Africans, on South Africa, apartheid, Namibia; for Central Asians, on the Soviet presence in Afghanistan; for South East Asians, the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea.

In seeking to deal with these various—and entirely legitimate—issues in the UN framework, the newer members face the same built-in constraints: the need for consensus among Permanent Members of the Security Council, the impossibility of imposing solutions to conflicts where the parties thereto are not agreeable (eg Iran/Iraq), the inability to enforce decisions even when mandatory (eg

from the Congo and Kashmir to the Golan, the Lebanon and the Green Line in Cyprus is not to be despised. At the end of January there were 9774 UN troops daily at risk in sensitive spots preventing simmering antagonism from erupting into open warfare.

More important: as the danger of collision in a crowded world increases, the scope for old-fashioned super-power policemen diminishes, the possible consequence of super-power miscalculation becomes more horrendous and the number of potential nuclear weapon states gets bigger, it behooves us, not to decry the UN for the inadequacies with which we have hedged it about (cf. the admirably succinct report of the



—AP photo —London Daily Express

**Word and deed. Jeane Kirkpatrick, chief U.S. delegate in UN huddle. English frigate sinks as British recapture Falklands from Argentina.**

we continue to negotiate arms reduction behind closed doors in Geneva and Vienna. At the UN frustration understandably mounts.

So the enforcement measures of the UN remain largely dead letters. Its teeth have not been cut (except in Korea, when the USSR was absent and failed to veto). But meanwhile it has been transformed by a membership explosion, detonated by decolonisation. From a predominantly Western club of 51 members, where Eastern Europe hung in by many a veto, it became today's body of 157 nations, more than two-thirds from the Third World. For this New Majority, the old East/West tensions are not of

Argentine withdrawal from the Falkland Islands). In some cases it is easier to reach a solution outside the UN (eg independence for Zimbabwe). In others, there is no internationally acceptable alternative to a UN deal (eg Namibia, in trust to the UN, illegally occupied by South Africa).

So the achievements of the UN to date in settling disputes are, not unnaturally, modest. International politics is the art of the internationally possible. But given the constraints imposed by national rivalries, the concept of UN peace-keeping forces has proved a major innovation; and what **has** been achieved by the men in blue berets,

Secretary-General last September); but rather to sustain it for more effective deployment in the years ahead.

The choice is not between the UN and some other body. We are not about to construct some alternative. It is the only nigh-universal political organ we have. It is not just a safety valve for blowing off excess steam. It can provide a ladder down which nations in conflict can climb off their high horses. It could be the only lightning conductor to avert the ignition of this planet.

So... 'tis not well done, but wonder 'tis, 'tis done at all...'. And we should all try to do it a bit better.



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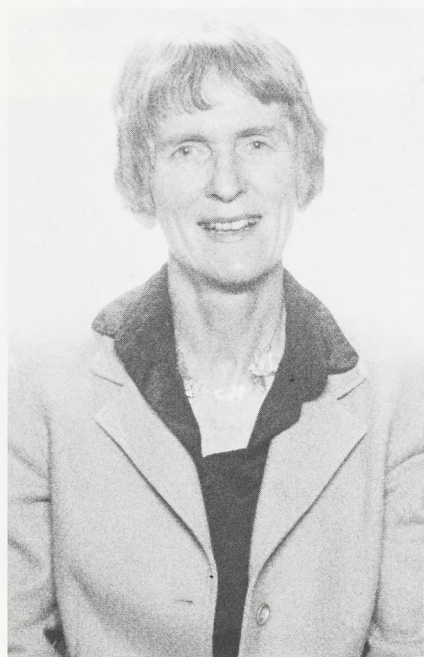
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### Judges of 1982 Awards Competition

William Arthur  
William Attwood  
Alfred Balk  
Robert Bennett  
Hank (Francis) Brennan  
Sean Callahan  
Cornell Capa  
Henry Cassidy  
Sibby Christensen

Arnold Drapkin  
John Durniak  
Julia Edwards  
Gerold Frank  
Morton Frank  
Pauline Frederick  
Barrett Gallagher  
Kim Gantz  
Howard Kany

William H. Kratch  
Alex Liepa  
Rosalind Massow  
Charles McGill  
Kevin McVey  
John Morris  
Arthur Rothstein  
Charles Rotkin  
Grace Shaw

David Shefrin  
Carol Smith  
Dr. Gene Sosin  
Ann Stringer  
Ansel Talbert  
Arthur Unger  
Alena Wels  
Gloria Zukerman



## Class 1

The Hal Boyle Award  
for the best daily  
newspaper or wire  
service reporting  
from abroad

Winner

**Walter Wisniewski  
and  
Jack Redden**

United Press  
International



Ibrahim El Burgi never had a chance.

So began Walter Wisniewski's graphic eye-witness account of the aftermath of the slaughter of hun-

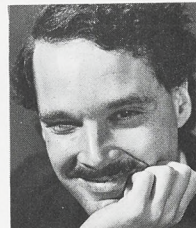
dreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps of Beirut in September. Wisniewski likened the scene to the Jonestown horror. He and Redden followed up with stories pinning responsibility for the attack on avenging gunmen of the Lebanese Christian militia and predicting the political turmoil that would result in Israel from the decision to admit the militiamen to the camps.

Citations go to Ursula Obst of the **Philadelphia Daily News**, for "Inside Poland," and to Joseph Pulitzer IV of the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch**, for "Africa's Refugees."

### Citations

Ursula Obst  
Philadelphia  
Daily News

Joseph  
Pulitzer IV  
St. Louis  
Post-Dispatch



## Class 2

The Bob Considine  
Award for the best  
daily newspaper  
or wire service  
interpretation of  
foreign affairs

Winner

**Joseph Kingsbury  
Smith**

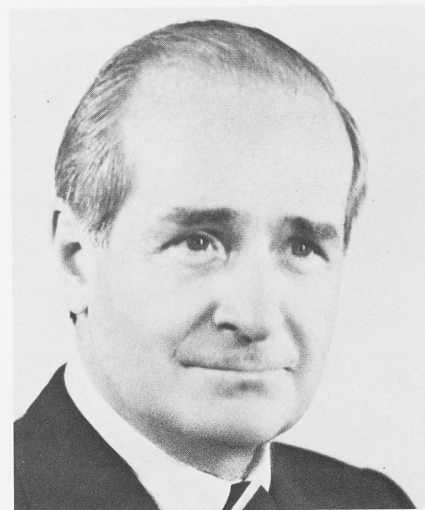
Hearst Newspapers

In an exclusive interview with Yuri Andropov little more than a month after the Soviet leader took power, Smith demonstrated there's no better way to interpret foreign news than by getting the views of the newsmakers. Andropov sent Smith a message through the Soviet embassy December 30 expressing willingness, after "good preparation," to meet President Reagan and compromise on reduction of nuclear weapons, opening an indirect dialogue between the Kremlin and the White House.

It was not the first such message for Smith. He got a similar telegram from Stalin in 1949 and, with William Randolph Hearst Jr., interviewed Khrushchev in 1955.

Citations go to Wilbur G. Landrey of the **St. Petersburg Times** for "Bringing Foreign News Home," and to Dusko Doder of the **Washington Post** for articles on the Soviet Union.

The judges for classes 1 and 2, the newspaper and wire service awards, were Henry Cassidy, Rosalind Massow and Ansel Talbert.



### Citations

Wilbur G. Landrey  
St. Petersburg  
Times

Dusko Doder  
Washington  
Post





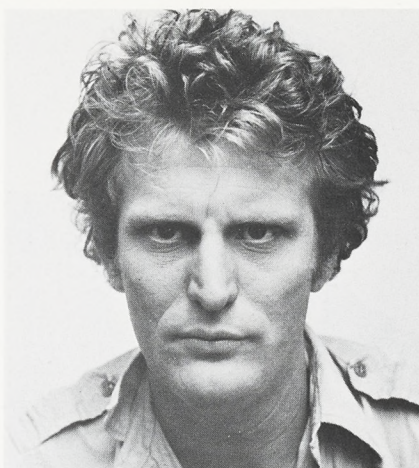
## 1982 Awards

### Class 3

The Robert Capa Gold Medal for best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

Winner

**Harry Mattison**  
Time Magazine



In gripping pictures, Mattison last year told the story of El Salvador: pictures taken from helicopter gunships of soldiers spraying the foliage of the countryside with fire, of guerilla warfare, of government troops removing bodies of fallen

soldiers, of electioneering, of families, of small children. After being caught in an ambush, Mattison reached into the camera bag just behind his head for a lens. It was shattered by a bullet—which fell from it with the glass.

A citation is awarded to Robin Moyer of **TIME Magazine** for his photographic coverage from Beirut.

### Citation

Robin Moyer  
TIME Magazine



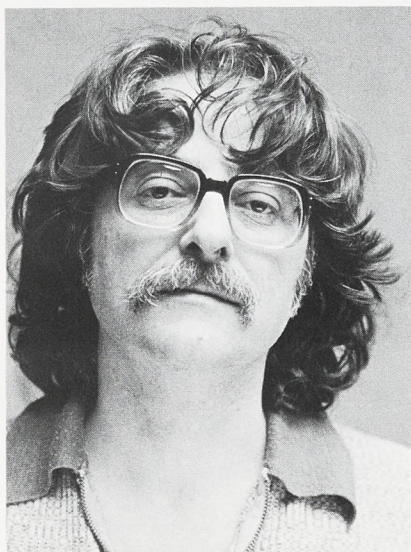




**Class 4**  
**The Olivier Rebbot**  
**Memorial Award for**  
**best photographic**  
**reporting from**  
**abroad for**  
**magazines and books**

**Winner**  
**Bill Pierce**  
**TIME Magazine**

In 1982 Pierce depicted the beautiful small children of Northern Ireland: who have seen their young friends killed, who speak politely to adults and play childhood games, who with no visible wounds quietly watch, and who, when their turn comes, will carry on the war. He covered the carnage of the Lebanon war, and the life of Sister Emmanuel, an elderly Bel-



gian nun, who lives with the garbage collectors in a dump outside Cairo, teaching children and illiterate adults, improving sanitation and health—and battles with Rome to die with her people rather than retire to an old-age home.

Citations are awarded to Harry Benson for "In Germany: a Defiant Generation," "Poland," and "Israel Clamps Down," in **Life Magazine**, and for "The Birth of a Settlement" in **People Magazine**.

#### **Citations**

Harry Benson  
 Life Magazine

People  
 Magazine





## 1982 Awards

### Class 4

Best photographic  
reporting from  
abroad for  
newspapers or wire  
services

Winner

**Eli Reed**

San Francisco  
Examiner

In a series of photo essays from the countries of Central America, Reed shows politicians and people, military leaders and armed civilians, families with pictures of those who have disappeared, shanty slums abutting luxury high-rises, sixteenth century churches and today's misery, and the faces of the children.

Citations are awarded to David C. Turnley of the **Detroit Free Press** for "The Palestinians, a People Scattered by War," and to Rina Castelnovo of the **Associated Press** for "Israeli Soldiers in Action."

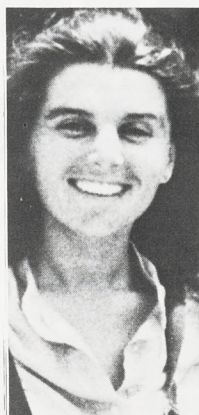
The judges for classes 3 and 4, the photography awards, were Charles Rotkin, Barrett Gallagher, Hank (Francis) Brennan, John Durniak, Arnold Drapkin, Sean Callahan, John Morris, Arthur Rothstein and Cornell Capa.



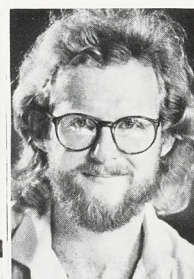




## Citations



Rina  
Castelnuovo  
Associated Press



David C. Turnley  
Detroit Free Press



## 1982 Awards

### Class 5

The Ben Grauer  
Award for the best  
radio spot news  
reporting  
from abroad

Winner

**Walter Wisniewski**

United Press  
International  
Audio Network



One of the first correspondents to enter the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps after the massacre, Wisniewski for two days broadcast a series of vivid reports describing the grisly scene. Cutting through the confusion of accusations and

allegations, his on-the-spot coverage pieced together the facts and provided listeners with a picture that later official investigation proved to be remarkably accurate.

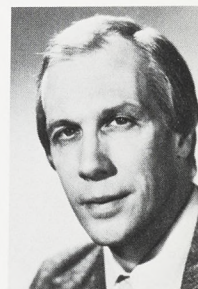
A citation is awarded to Robert Fox, Frederick J. Kennedy, Cameron Swayze, Philip Till and Alan Walden of NBC News for their coverage of the Falklands war, with skillful use of sound actualities.

#### Citation

Robert Fox,  
Frederick J. Kennedy,  
Cameron Swayze,  
Phillip Till, and  
Alan Walden  
NBC News



Frederick J. Kennedy



Cameron Swayze

### Class 6

The Lowell Thomas  
Award for  
the best radio  
interpretation of  
foreign affairs

Winner

**The Falkland  
Islands—**

**Perspective**

ABC News Radio

## RADIO abc Networks

During last spring's Falkland Islands war, ABC News presented an insightful discussion of the issues from both points of view. From Buenos Aires correspondents Sander Vanocur, Peter Cleave-land and Frank Manitzas reflected attitudes, history, and implications of the Malvinas crisis. From London, Peter Jennings, John Cooley and John Donovan analyzed the motives and tactics of the Thatcher government as it chose the military option, and explored British and world opinion.

A citation is awarded to Peter Jennings of ABC News Radio for his reports explaining the

background of the conflict in Beirut.

The judges for classes 5 and 6, the radio awards, were Gene Sosin, Howard Kany, William Kratch and Gloria Zukerman.



#### Citation

Peter Jennings  
ABC News



## Class 7

Best TV spot  
news reporting  
from abroad

Winner  
**The CBS Evening  
News with  
Dan Rather**

In a series of excellent spot news reports and photography from Lebanon last June to September, a CBS Evening News team, often working under fire, provided timely understanding of daily

most credible perspective of the crisis that Lebanon endured through those months. Team members were correspondents Bob Faw, Tom Fenton, Don Kladstrup, and Doug Tunnell; executive producer was Howard Stringer, and managing editor Dan Rather.



events in an extremely complicated Middle East situation. The coverage was a kaleidoscope that ranged from scenes of actual fire-fights, to interviews with Palestinians and with Israeli soldiers, to interpretive commentary. It was complete, impartial, and gave a

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McGraw-Hill World News  
Neal Sandler—Jerusalem





## 1982 Awards

### Class 8

The  
Edward R. Murrow  
Award for best  
TV interpretation  
or documentary  
on foreign affairs

Winner  
**Anthony Potter**  
and  
**Marvin Kalb**  
NBC-TV



The NBC News White Paper "The Man Who Shot the Pope: a Study in Terrorism" presents bold, original investigative reporting and skilled interpretation of the complex story linking the attempted assassination of the Pope to Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Correspondent was Marvin Kalb. Anthony Potter was executive producer.

A citation is awarded to **WGBH World's** program, "The Killing of Sadat: Why Was Cairo Calm?"; Ofra Bikel producer, director and writer, David Fanning executive producer.

The judges of classes 7 and 8, the television awards, were David Sheffer, Arthur Unger and Kim Gantz.



David Fanning

### Citation

Ofra Bikel  
David Fanning  
WGBH

### Class 9

The Mary Hemingway  
Award for best  
magazine reporting  
from abroad

Winner  
**Newsweek**



The arresting cover story "Israel in Torment" is a superb example of integrated group reporting on the Beirut massacre. Four tightly written and skillfully blended major stories on separate aspects of the event explored its far-reaching ramifications, and sidebars—"What the Arabs Will Do," "The Voices of Israel," the "Forty Hours of Horror" illustration—

left few unanswered questions and helped the reader understand the event and its consequences. The straightforward but not dispassionate writing on an emotional issue was refreshing and gave the report a credibility often lacking in coverage of this part of the world.

Citations are awarded to Elaine Sciolino for "Inside the New Iran," John Brecher for "A Secret War in Nicaragua," and Bob Levin for "France's Time of Terror," all in **Newsweek**, and to Michael Kramer for "A Quagmire Close to Home" in **New York Magazine**.

### Citations

Elaine Sciolino      Michael Kramer  
Newsweek      New York Magazine



Elaine Sciolino  
John Brecher  
Newsweek



Michael Kramer  
Bob Levin  
Newsweek



**Class 10**  
**The Hallie and**  
**Whit Burnett Award**  
**for the best**  
**magazine story on**  
**foreign affairs**

**Winner**  
**TIME**

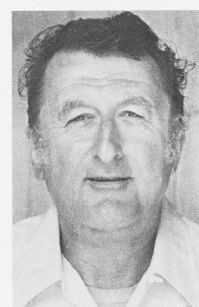
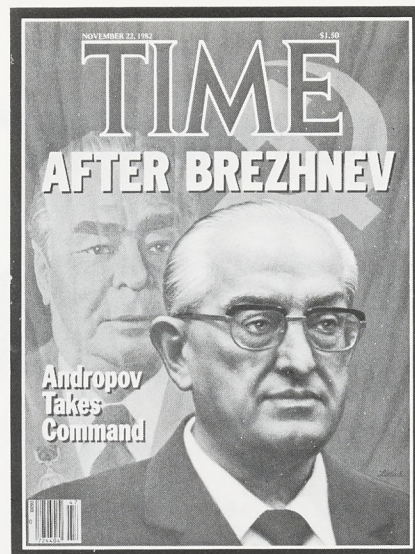
"After Brezhnev," 23 pages of clear and colorful writing, thorough research and reporting, solid historical background, knowledgeable interpretation and plausible pro-

jections, gave this timely story a vigorous and credible treatment. The coverage included a description of Andropov and other Soviet leaders, an obituary of Brezhnev, a discussion of Soviet arms and economy, relations with the U.S., and a KGB defector who described Afghanistan as "Brezhnev's Vietnam."

The coverage was by associate editor Patricia Blake, writers Roger Rosenblatt, John Kohan, Charles Alexander, and Strobe Talbott, reporters Erik Amfitheatrof, Joseph J. Kane, Bruce W. Nelan, Gisele Bolte, assistant managing editor Ronald Kriss, and members of Time bureaus.

Citations are awarded to Murray Sayle for "The Yellow Peril and the Red-Haired Devils," and to Ronald Steel for "Ending the American Protectorate of Europe," both in **Harper's Magazine**, and a special mention to William Broyles Jr. for "Remembering a War We Want to Forget," in **Newsweek**.

The judges for classes 9 and 10, the magazine awards, were Morton Frank, William Arthur, William Attwood, Al Balk, and Pauline Frederick.



Murray Sayle

**Citations**

Murray Sayle  
 Harper's Magazine

Ronald Steel  
 Harper's Magazine

**Special Mention**

William Broyles Jr.  
 Newsweek

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# 1982 Awards



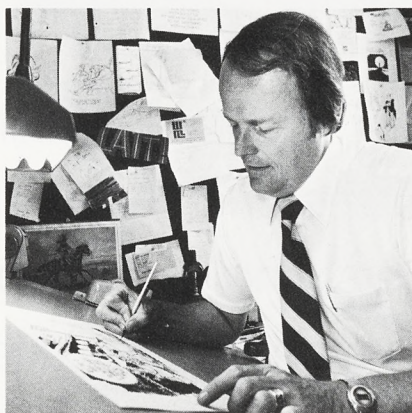
## Class 11

Best cartoon on  
foreign affairs

Winner

**Richard Locher**  
The Chicago Tribune

With clarity and simplicity, Locher captured the broad implications of international events, and during the year covered a wide range of world stories, from the Middle East war, to Japanese exports, the Russian influence in Central America, and the Falklands war. Locher spent 20 years in the Air Force and assisted



Chester Gould, creator of Dick Tracy, before joining the Tribune.

Citations are awarded to Clay Bennett of the **St. Petersburg Times**, Milt Priggee of the **Journal Herald** of Dayton, and Frank Evers of the **New York Daily News**.

The judges of class 11 were Kevin McVey and Charlie McGill.



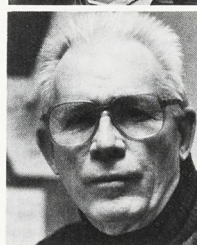
### Citations

Clay Bennett  
St. Petersburg  
Times

Milt Priggee  
Journal Herald,  
Dayton



Frank Evers  
N.Y. Daily News





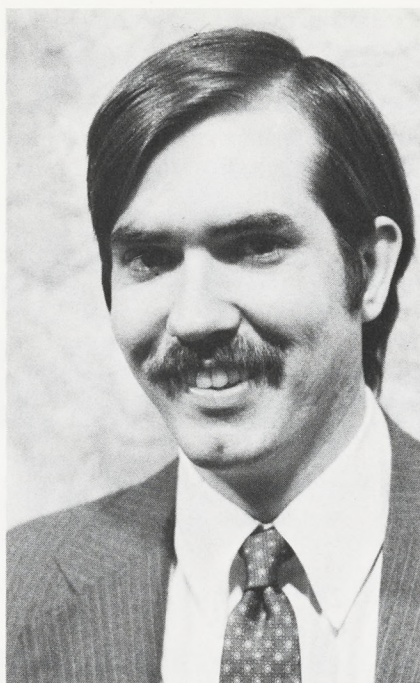
## Class 12

The International  
Herald Tribune Award  
for the best business  
news reporting  
from abroad

Winner

**Larry Gurwin**

Institutional Investor



In "Death of a Banker," Gurwin covered a fascinating and important chapter in international banking with clarity, thoroughness and a concern for the often cloudy facts surrounding the shocking hanging death of Roberto Calvi in

London. He painted a compelling portrait of the Roman banker, his relations with the Vatican, the society in which he rose to prominence, and the workings of the international banking system. He provided insights into the operations of Michele Sindona, the workings of the Italian central bank, and the secret lodge—known as P 2—that forced the resignation of one Italian government.

A citation is awarded to Jeffrey Robinson for his series of five articles on the scandal at Lloyds in **Barron's**.

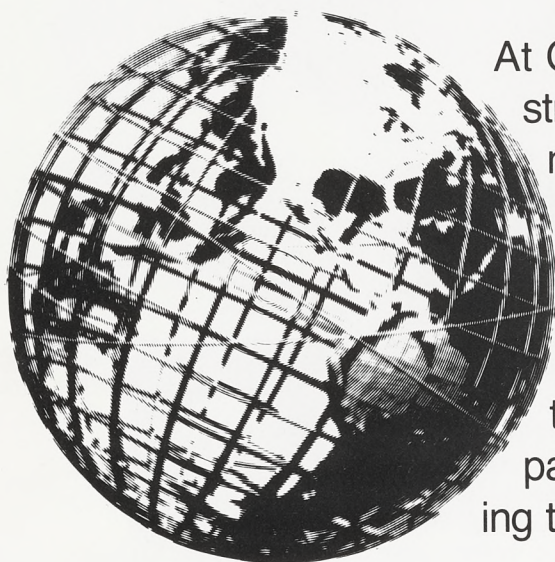
The judges of class 12 were Alena Wels and Robert Bennett.



### Citation

Jeffrey Robinson  
Barron's

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## 1982 Awards

### Class 13

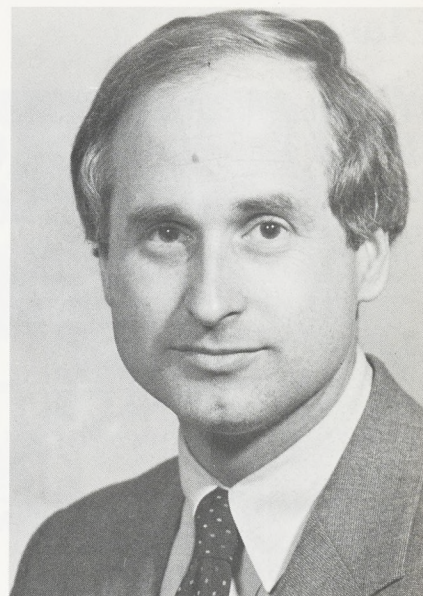
The Cornelius Ryan Award for the best book on foreign affairs

Winner

**Fox Butterfield**  
China: Alive in the Bitter Sea

In this unique report on an area of the world that is of tremendous importance today, Fox Butterfield proves not only authoritative but also a splendid writer, and justifies a Sinologist's description of his book as a milestone in American understanding by probably the most competent and effective journalist ever to go to China. In 1979 Butterfield opened the first New York Times bureau in China since 1949, and spent 20 months travelling widely and reporting from Tibet, Xinjiang, Heilongjiang and Fujian, before returning to the U.S. to write this book.

The judges for class 13 were Grace G. Shaw, Gerold Frank, Alex Liepa and Carol Smith.

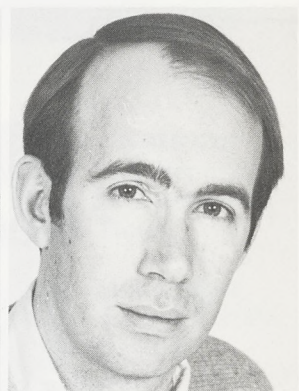


### Class 14

The Madeline Dane Ross Award for international reporting in any medium which demonstrates a concern for humanity

Winner

**Walter Bogdanich,  
Joe Frolik and  
Christopher Jensen**  
The Cleveland Plain Dealer



"In the Name of Charity" is a superb job of investigative reporting about the world's starving, its sick and its refugees. The series exposes corporations that take tax deductions for contributing outdated medicines and supplies that can harm those they're supposed to help; fund raisers who don't use the money they collect for the purposes they collected it for, and the well-meaning ignorant whose efforts fail to help. More than an expose, the series also tells donors how to do the most good with whatever they have to contribute.

A citation is awarded to Anne Keegan for "Staying Behind," in the **Chicago Tribune**.

The judges in class 14 were Julia Edwards, Ann Stringer and Sibby Christensen.



#### Citation

Anne Keegan  
Chicago Tribune





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Frederick Forsyth is not a prolific writer.

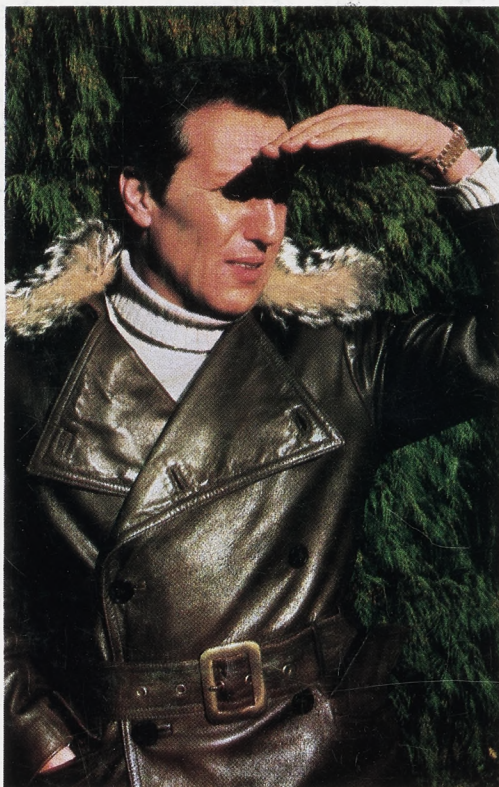
In fact, in the past twelve years he has completed just four full-length novels.

And yet *The Day of the Jackal*, *The Odessa File*, *The Dogs of War* and *The Devil's Alternative* have all become instant best-sellers around the world.

Already his first three books have been made into successful feature films.

Forsyth's writing is characterized by a blend of uncannily authentic detail and superb storytelling.

The facts are drawn from his own many experiences as a front-line war correspondent; the fiction, from something the craftsmen at Rolex appreciate only too well — a sense of style.



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Apart from his Rolex, Frederick Forsyth is particularly pleased with the coat you see him wearing in the photograph.

He spotted it in a shop in London, and asked of what fur the collar was made.

The assistant told him.

"Jackal."

  
**ROLEX**



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